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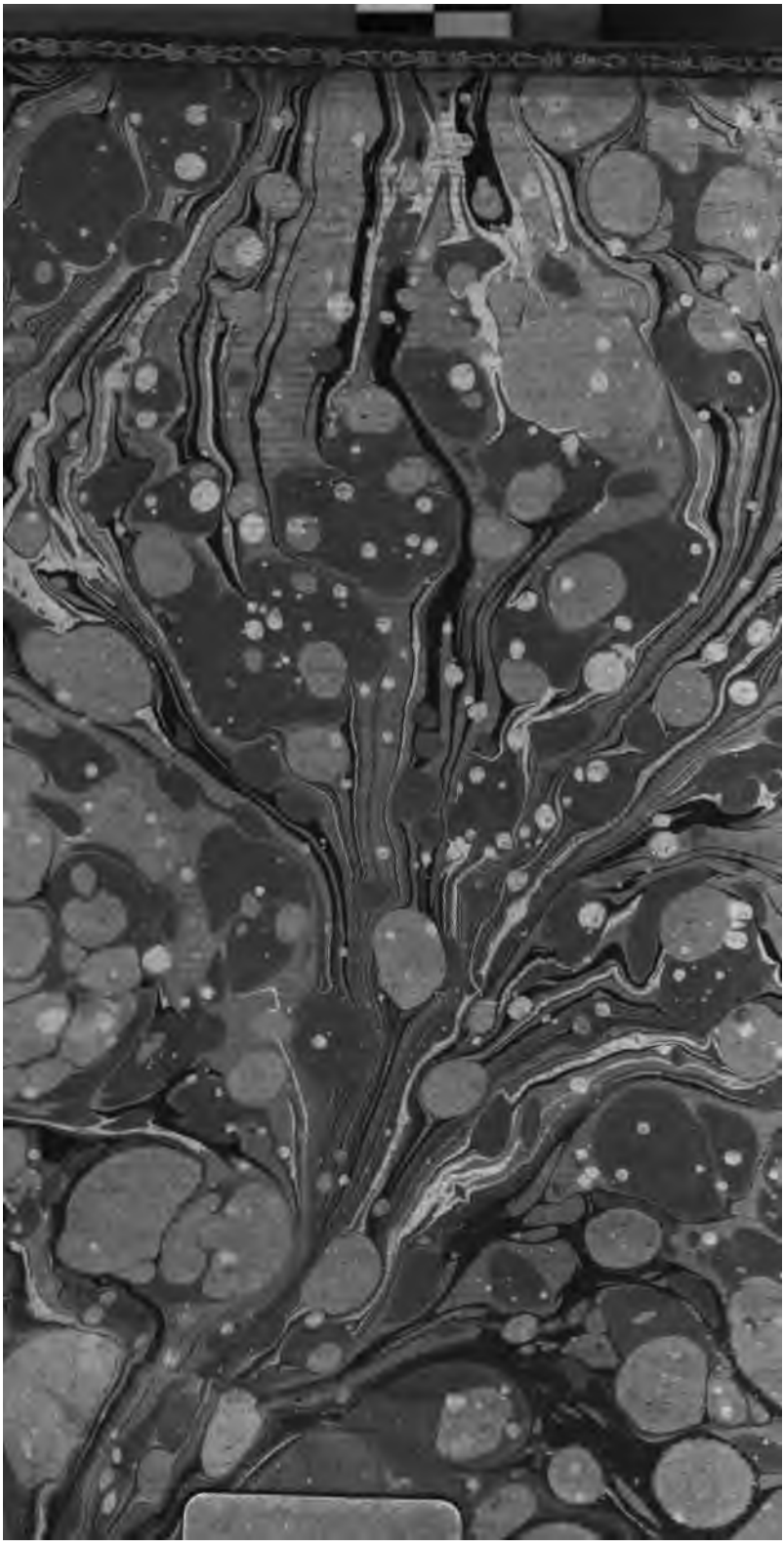

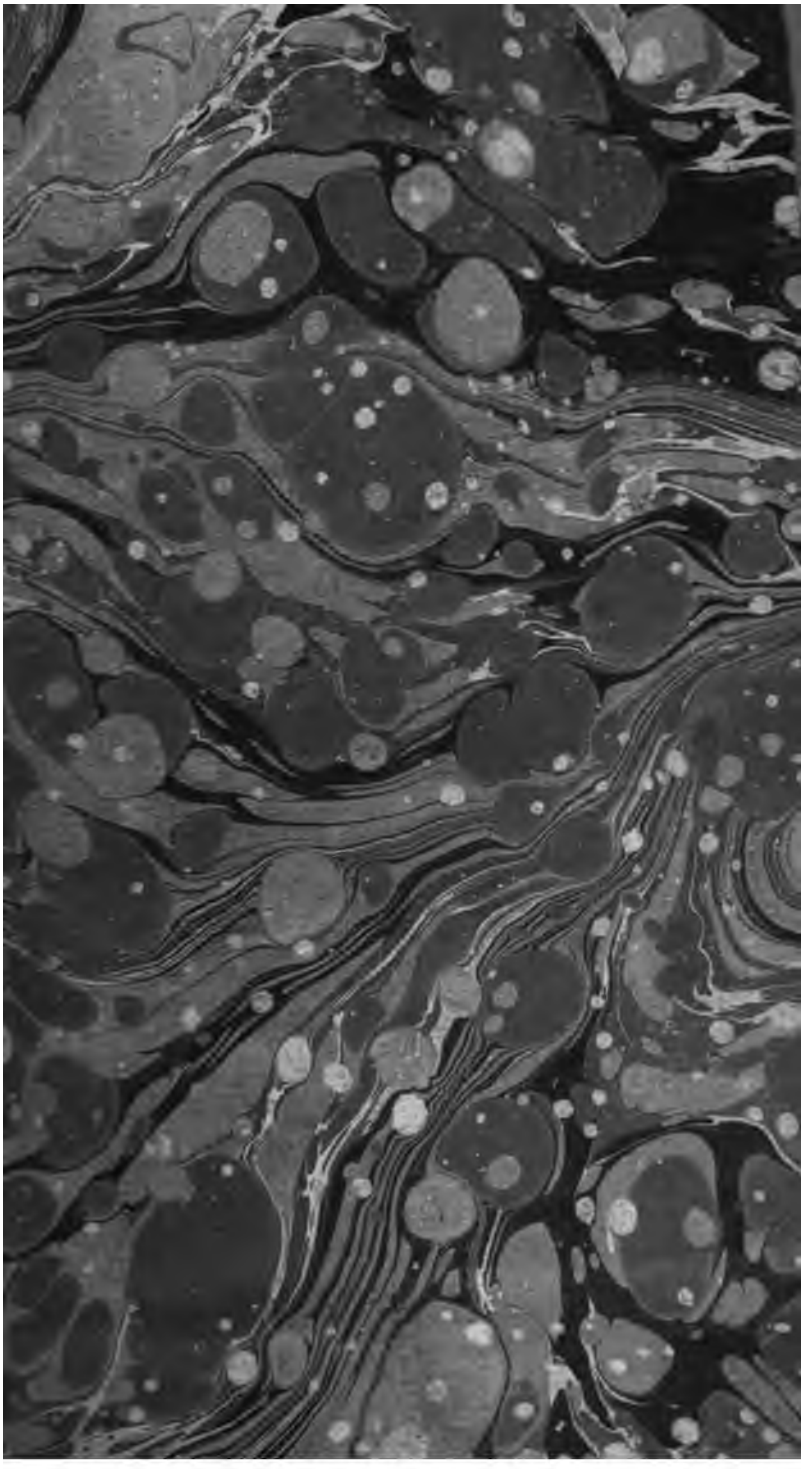

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS VINDICATED.

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AND

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE eight letters, twelve ſonnets, and two marriage-contracts, which either in their ſubſcriptions, in their compoſition, or in both, have been attributed to the pen of the unfortunate Mary, and on which principally is founded all the ſlander that has been raiſed againſt her, have been as ſingular in their fortune as they are in their nature. Suſpected for forgeries by numbers, at the time of their original appearance; and condemned equally by numbers, for certain forgeries; they gained by degrees upon the good opinion of the public, till they nearly came at laſt into the full poſſeſſion of it. In this kind of pre-eminence they continued to our own days. They carried a commanding boldneſs in their air and manner. And nothing impoſes more readily upon the eaſy faith of the world, than the bold teſtimony of a confident witneſs.

The moſt important of theſe papers, the letters, had however been very ſtrongly encountered at firſt by a *Defence of Mary's Honour*, which was publiſhed by her worthy adherent, Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, and which was at once lively, convincing, and pointed. But this was inſtantly ſuppreſſed by the violence of Queen Elizabeth. No vindication of Mary was ſuffered to appear. Many were publiſhed on the continent; yet none of them durſt venture upon Engliſh ground. And at the ſame time the *Detection of Mary's Doings* by Buchanan, that daring effort of fabricated calumny, in which the principal of the two contracts, all the ſonnets, and all the letters were originally publiſhed, received every recommendation that could be lent it by authority. It was preſented in form to Elizabeth herſelf. It was circulated with induſtry by her miniſters. In that period of our government, ſuch artifices of tyranny would carry a peculiar efficacy with them. They could not fail of ſucceſs. The reputation of Mary was aſſaulted on every ſide, in vigorous and artful appeals to the public. She was debarred from all counter appeals in her own defence. From the malicious partiality

of mankind to ſlander, the energy of a vindication is no ways equal to the force of an accuſation. What then muſt be the force of the one, when the other is not permitted to accompany it; when this is ſuppreſſed, and that is ſupported, by all the exertions of authority in the government, and by all the habits of obedience in the people? The conſequence was very natural. The ſonnets, contracts, and letters were received as authentic teſtimonies of Mary's guilt. The opinion of the public became fixed upon the point. And a ſlander, that has once got poſſeſſion of the general faith, is the moſt difficult of all prejudices to be removed.

But in 1754 a wonderful revolution began to take place in the hiſtory of theſe eſtabliſhed evidences. Mr. Goodall, keeper of the Advocate's library at Edinburgh, ſtepped forward, with a courage that ſeemed to border upon raſhneſs, in order to prove them mere forgeries, and to diſabuſe the deceived public. He was a man very converſant with records. He was, therefore, in the habit of referring aſſertions to authorities. He was alſo actuated perhaps by a ſpirit of party, as a party had been then formed in the nation

concerning the point. Something more vigorous than the abſtracted love of truth, is generally requiſite to every arduous undertaking. But, whatever were his motives, his enterprize was honourable, and his execution powerful. He entered into an examination of the papers with conſiderable ſpirit. He went through it with conſiderable addreſs. He even proved the letters to be forgeries in ſo clear a manner, that one is aſtoniſhed it had never been done before. *This* ſhews, indeed, the little attention which had been paid to the ſubject, in care to ſubſtantiate, or in zeal to deſtroy, the fundamental credit of the whole. And *that* forms one of thoſe grand diſcoveries, which muſt neceſſarily be very rare in the hiſtory of any nation, and therefore reflect a peculiar honour upon the individual who makes them.

Yet ſuch was the factious credulity then prevailing generally in the iſland, that this work, one of the moſt original and convincing which ever were publiſhed, made its way very ſlowly among us. Even ſome of our firſt-rate writers preſumed to ſet themſelves againſt it. Dr. Robertſon, a diſciple of the old ſchool of ſlander, wrote a formal diſ-

ſertation

ſertation in oppoſition to it. Even Mr. Hume, who in *hiſtory* had learned to think more liberally than the Doctor, in ſome incidental notes to his Hiſtory of England ſtill profeſſed, and defended, his adherence to the ancient error. And the nation ſtood ſuſpended between the authority of great names, and the prejudices of "the million," upon one ſide; and a new name, new arguments, and demonſtration, on the other. Then Mr. Tytler aroſe. He generally took the ſame ground which Mr. Goodall had taken before him. He generally made uſe of his weapons. He brightened up ſome. He ſtrengthened others. With both and with his own, he drove the enemy out of the field. Dr. Robertſon quitted it directly. Mr. Hume rallied, after a long interval of eleven or twelve years. He rallied with a ſeeming ferocity of ſpirit, and with a real imbecillity of exertion. He, who never replied to an adverſary before, now replied to Mr. Tytler in a note to a new edition of his hiſtory. He laid himſelf out there, in reproaches againſt Mr. Tytler, and in vindications of himſelf. But he touched upon the cauſe of Mary, in a ſingle point only. And

his efforts of proving in all were ſlight in their aim, and feeble in their operation. Mr. Tytler, however, very properly advanced upon him again, in a poſtſcript to a new edition of his own work. And Mr. Hume retired finally with Dr. Robertſon. Mr. Tytler deſervedly gained great honour by the conteſt. His work is candid, argumentative, acute, and ingenious. Only his ſucceſs ſeems to have injured his maſter's reputation. The glory was in no ſmall meaſure Mr. Goodall's own. Yet ſuch is the capriciouſneſs of fame conferred by men, that the laurels are ſtill ſhading the brow of Mr. Tytler, while the original proprietor is almoſt forgotten. It is a juſtice due to the memories of illuſtrious maſters, not to let their names be loſt in the ſucceeding ſplendour of their ſcholars, when a large ſhare of that ſplendour is derived from the maſters themſelves.

In this ſtate of the controverſy, the nation continued for many years. The new truths were gradually gaining ground. None oppoſed them. Numbers embraced them. And at laſt, in the natural progreſs of conviction, Dr. Stuart appeared about four years ago, with

with a regular hiſtory of Mary's reign, modelled upon the authority of records, and therefore vindicating the character of the Queen. He even challenged Dr. Robertſon, as the preceding hiſtorian of her reign, to leave the retreat which he had kept ſo long, to come forward from his covert at laſt, and either juſtify or retract his ſlanders againſt her. This was fair, bold, and manly. It was in the true ſpirit of hiſtorical gallantry, advancing to the reſcue of an oppreſſed Queen. But the Doctor was too prudent to accept the challenge. He had gained his firſt honours in hiſtorical compoſition, from that very hiſtory. Theſe indeed had withered on his head. But he might loſe them entirely, in attempting to freſhen them. The nation was no longer in that high ſtate of faction, in which it ſtood when he publiſhed firſt: And to retract what he had ſaid, could not be expected from that meaſure of generoſity, which ordinarily falls to the ſhare of man.

It was the peruſal of Dr. Stuart's ſpirited and judicious Hiſtory in the ſecond edition of it, that put me upon examining the evidences on which the whole is founded. I had formerly read the controverſy, juſt as thou-

ſands muſt neceſſarily have read it, with a tranſient attention to the cited records, and with a full conviction on the ſide of Mary. But I now reſolved to go deeper. The reſult was, that I quickly ſaw ſome particulars concerning the letters, ſonnets, and contracts, as I thought, which had not yet been opened with ſufficient clearneſs, which had not yet been preſſed with ſufficient vigour, or had been totally overlooked hitherto. Theſe would ſerve, I ſaw, to vindicate more fully the character of a Queen, to whom the nation owes ſo much in reparation, for two centuries of unremitted obloquy. And theſe have been ſo ſucceſſively continued from point to point ſince, that they have at laſt, I find, embraced the whole hiſtory and evidence of the writings within their ample circle.

Yet in juſtice to my own candour I ought to acknowledge, that, in doing this, I have found myſelf compelled at times to avoid the ground, which the preceding champions for Mary have generally occupied. From a prudential regard for myſelf, I have been careful not to take any that was untenable. From a more dignified reſpect for facts, I have

have been upon my guard againſt that generoſity of compaſſion for a highly injured woman, which is ſo apt to ſteal over the ſpirits, and to impoſe upon the judgment, of an honeſt man. And, while I profeſs myſelf a warm friend to Mary, I wiſh to be conſidered as a much warmer one to the truth of hiſtory in writing, and to the exerciſe of integrity in life.

MARY

QUEEN OF SCOTS

VINDICATED.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1.

FROM that wonderful event in the human hiſtory, which reaſon could never diſcover, and revelation was forced to diſcloſe; but which now appears ſo obvious to the former, that ſhe wonders at her own want of aſſiſtance from the latter; a ſharp edge of ill-will has been ſet upon the mind of man. This ſhews itſelf ſtrongly in thoſe minute differences and petty diſſenſions, which are perpetually teazing the boſom of domeſtic happineſs. But it ſhews itſelf more apparently to the general eye, in thoſe noiſyer quarrels, that are continually aſſaulting the intereſt of kingdoms without, are deſtroying the peace of them within, and filling the page of hiſtory with revolutions.

Such

Such an evil tendency as this in the human heart was ſure to diſplay itſelf very openly in that grand revolution of our own iſland, which, with a juſt triumph of ſpirit, we call THE REFORMATION. It would naturally have come forward in a merely civil diſſenſion, in a ſtruggle for power, in a conteſt for liberty, or in a diſpute about modes of government; in any of thoſe oppoſitions of ſentiment and colliſions of action, which have ſo frequently agitated our country. But it was ſure to come forward with a larger portion of vehemence, in ſuch a contention as that. There religion united with polity, and the higheſt intereſts of Heaven combined with the deareſt concerns of earth, to call out all the paſſions of the ſoul, to lend a double force to the good in them, and to give a double vigour to the bad. And, in ſuch a ſituation, this infuſed *virus* of the heart would work, and ferment, and diſcharge itſelf, with a very extraordinary violence.

It did ſo, even in *our own* kingdom. But it was ſtill more violent in SCOTLAND. From the graver caſt of character perhaps, which ſeems to have always prevailed among the Scotch; from the greater turbulence of their Nobles certainly; from the lower ſtate of civility among them; and, above all, from the accidental oppoſition of the crown to the prevailing ſpirit of the people; it fermented into ſuch diſorders, and it diſcharged itſelf in ſuch enormities, as the unthinking and the unprincipled are always ready to place to the diſcredit of religion itſelf. But religion was only

only a partial cauſe. Liberty was an equal one. And thoſe ſtrong ſeeds of malignity, which now ſeem to be naturalized to the human ſoil, were a much more powerful one than either.

The old turbulence of the Scottiſh Barons, which had previouſly evaporated in open wars with England, in private hoſtilities upon the borders, in rebellions againſt the crown, or in family-feuds amongſt themſelves, now aſſumed another form, and now moved in another direction. It appeared all at once in the cauſe of religion. It was ſtill the ſame in its predominating ſpirit, and in its general operations. But it now brandiſhed the ſword of Proteſtantiſm. And animated as it felt itſelf by a new principle of power, deriving (as it were) a flame of activity from the very fires of Heaven; it naturally exerted itſelf with a peculiar energy of violence.

In this ſtate of the Scottiſh nation, but juſt as it was beginning to breathe after a hard and deſperate ſtruggle, and when it was now hoping to ſettle gradually into the calm of an effected reformation; their QUEEN appeared among them. The billows were ſtill heaving from the ſtorm. The clouds were ſtill hanging black in the ſky. And her appearance excited a freſh tempeſt in both, that exceeded the former in its violence, overſet the conſtitution for a time, and wrecked the happineſs of the Queen for ever.

WITH

§ II.

WITH ſuch a ſea of commotions, MARY may ſeem at firſt view to have been little qualified to contend, either from nature or from education. Young, beautiful, and accompliſhed, ſhe had already ſat upon the throne of France. She there became the center to a large circle. She appeared in it with a propriety that was acknowledged, and with a graceſulneſs that was applauded, by all. She was the peculiar ornament of one of the politeſt courts in Europe. But her ſoul was ſuperior, even to ſuch a ſtate of admiration as this. This had charms to gratify the generality of female minds, to the utmoſt extent of their wiſhes. Mary's ambition was of a more exalted kind. She wiſhed to appear as a woman of intellect, and to be conſidered as a woman of taſte. The ſtrength of her talents fitted her well for the one: the high poliſh which had been given them, calculated her eminently for the other. She therefore ſhone equally in the drawing-room and in the cloſet; in the neceſſary formalities of ſtate, and in the mental intercourſes of life. And ſuperadded to all theſe qualities, ſhe had what is ſcarcely ever united with them, a native firmneſs of reſolution.

Her youth, her beauty, and her graceſulneſs, her literature, and her royalty, indeed, may ſeem to have raiſed her to an eminence of eſteem and applauſe

applauſe in France, at which ſhe was not properly ſcanned; and from which ſome powers of mind were attributed to her, perhaps, that ſhe never poſſeſſed. Nothing ſo much impoſes upon the ſpirits of the feeling and the refined, as youth, beauty, and graceſulneſs, united with literary improvements, in a lady. And when theſe all appear in conjunction upon a throne, they are rated highly beyond their worth, and the world is filled with hyperbolical admirations of them. Yet, with every allowance for the pleaſing prejudices of the few in favour of ſuch accompliſhments, and with every deduction for the uſeful partialities of the many to the ſide of royalty, ſhe was certainly one of the firſt women of her age. The very courtiers of Elizabeth, in their very addreſſes to their miſtreſs, at a time too when Mary was juſt eſcaped from an impriſonment for months, under the tyranny of her own rebels; and when ſhe had actually ſuffered the horrible indignity of a RAPE, from a confederacy among them*; even then acknowledged her to have an equal vivacity of mind and body; yet to have that ſound and ſober wiſdom, which is of ſo much greater conſequence in life, and qualified her to be peculiarly a woman

* Let not the reader ſuſpect, that this aſſerted fact, becauſe it is not dwelt upon with ſufficient diſtinctneſs by hiſtory, has only grown out of the double meaning of the word *raviſhing*, which in England means only a rape, but in Scotland is generally employed to ſignify the *ſeizure* of the Queen by the raviſher. The fact is too certain, and I ſhall inſiſt particularly upon it hereafter.

of

of stature; to possess also a large share of courage; to be endowed by a frank, a pleasant, and a generous spirit; and to be furnished with a free and eloquent address. "We found her in "her answers," they say, "to have as elo-"quent tongue, and a discreet head; and "it seemeth by her doings, that she hath "stout courage, and liberall heart," adding thereunto." They also in the same moments expressed their apprehension for the consequences, because a number of enemy from all the adjoining countries of England had heard "her early defences and excuses of her inno-"cency, with her great accusations of her "enemies, very eloquently made by her;" and because "a body of our activity and "spirits might effused soone," out of the windows of her English prison.* Accordingly we find Elizabeth's own council at the time to have "feared, lest she, who was, as it were, "the very pith and marrow of sweet elo-"quence, might draw many daily to her part."† One of the courtiers likewise adds in another letter thus, concerning the vigorous part of her character. "This lady and princess is a not-

* Goodall, p. 71 and 72.

† Camden's Annals 11th, translation, edit. 4th 1688. I cite and shall cite the translation of this very valuable work, as I shall also do by Buchanan's Detection, in compliment to the more unlearned reader. But I shall compare the translation with the original every time. And if there is any real variation, I shall take care to note it. In the original, edit. 11th. 1615, the main words are; "Quòd quasi Suadæ medulla," p. 137.

"TABLE

"ABLE woman," he ſays, "ſhe ſeemeth to regard "no ceremonious honor, beſide the acknowledg- "ing of hir eſtate royal ſhe ſheweth a diſpoſi- "tion to SPEYK MOCHE, to be BOLD, to be "PLEASANT, and to be VERY FAMILIAR; ſhe "ſheweth a great deſyre to be avenged of hir "enemies; ſhe ſheweth a readineſs to EXPONE "HIRSELF TO ALL PERRYLLS in hope of vic- "tory; ſhe deſyreth moche to hear of hardyneſs "and valiancy, commending by name all approv- "ed hardy men of hir country, *althoghe they be* "*hir enemies*; and ſhe concealeth no cowardneſs, "*evin in hir frends*."* And her very rebels themſelves, in their higheſt paroxyſms of rage and calumny againſt her, when they had uſurped all her power, and while they were actually keeping her perſon in confinement, could not but confeſs, in the ſame paper by which they reſolved to charge her with *adultery* and with *murder*, "thay MONY GUDE AND EXCELLENT "GIFTS and VIRTUES—quharewith God ſome- "times indowit her."† Such a confeſſion, from ſuch men, and in ſuch circumſtances, is a ſtronger panegyric in her favour, than all which all her admirers in France could ſpeak concerning her. Yet ſhe appeared much greater ſtill from her misfortunes afterward. Theſe called out the native vigour of her mind, and the native dignity of her ſpirit, in a very extraordinary manner. She roſe eminently ſuperior to

* Anderſon, iv. part i. 71. † Goodall, ii. 63.

them all. She was a heroine in priſon. And, even when ſhe bowed her head under the axe of Elizabeth, ſhe appeared with all the look and luſtre of majeſty; while her tyrannical couſin was trembling on her throne of blood.

From that ſcene of admiration in France, however, ſhe was ſoon called away by the death of her huſband, to her native kingdom in the north. She was now to paſs from a ſituation of elegance and of ſplendour, to the very reign of incivility and turbulence. There moſt of her accompliſhments would be loſt. Elegance of taſte was little known, among the Scotch of that period. The graces of literature were little cultivated. Barbariſm ſeems ſcarcely to have ſmoothed the natural ruggedneſs of its brow, among the generality of them. Religion was certainly dictating to all, a petulant rudeneſs of ſpeech and conduct. And both were preſſing hard upon the heels of royalty. She was unhappily, too, of a different opinion from the great body of her ſubjects, upon that one topic of religion, which now actuated almoſt every heart, and directed almoſt every tongue, among them. This was a point, on which honour could never bend, and by which, of all the poſſible motives in the world, the human mind is moſt ſtiffly ſtrung in oppoſition. Yet Mary had either moderation enough in her ſpirit, or diſcretion enough in her underſtanding, not to attempt any innovation on the prevailing faith of proteſtantiſm. She allowed her ſubjects the full and free exerciſe of their new religion. She only

only challenged the ſame indulgence for her own. Even this could ſcarcely be permitted to her, from the fears or from the ſcruples of the reformers. They had been long in the habit of encountering the monſter of popery. They had, therefore, worked themſelves up into a high abhorrence of its nature, and into a lively dread of its power. Their paſſions were violently inflamed by that. Their imaginations were perpetually haunted by this. And they could not let themſelves down to the ſober level of reaſon.*

By this means, the ſovereign of a kingdom could hardly be allowed the indulgence, which ſhe allowed to the loweſt peaſant under her government. She could not uſe it with the ſame exemption from diſturbances, that he did. She was affronted in her religion. She was inſulted in her worſhip. Thoſe *happy prieſts*, who (according to a French obſervation of more ſarcaſm than propriety) *trample upon the aſhes of the Catoes and the Æmilii at Rome*, † under another form, and with an oppoſite religion, were almoſt ready to trample upon their Romanized Queen in Scotland. The

* Lethington himſelf, one of her greateſt rebels afterward, writes of her to Cecil himſelf in November 1562, as "a "princeſs *ſo gentle and benign*, and whoſe behaviour hath "been *always* ſuch towards *all* her ſubjects, and *every one* in "particular, *wonder it is*, that *any* could be found ſo *ungra-* "*cious* as *once* to think evil againſt her." (Keith 232.)

† Les prêtres fortunés foulent d'un pied tranquille
Les tombeaux des Catons et la cendre d'Emile.

authority of the crown ſeemed too weak to ſupport itſelf, even againſt ſuch adverſaries. The national rage of reformation had armed them with a power, of which we can have little conception in more ſettled times. The zeal of religion, which burned in their own boſoms, gave them a boldneſs, againſt which the poliſhed civilities of life formed an ineffectual barrier. And the natural immodeſty of power, when it has been newly acquired, and eſpecially when it has been juſt lodged among the lower orders of life, lent them ſuch an addition of effrontery, that the venerable form of majeſty itſelf ſeemed to ſhrink up into inſignificance before it.*

Yet this boldneſs and this effrontery might eaſily have been repreſſed. A ſpirited exertion of authority would ſoon have done it. Such adverſaries are ſcarcely ever formidable, except when kings make them ſo by their fears. The crown had vigour enough in itſelf, crippled as it had been by the late ſtruggles, to have checked this intemperate effuſion of zeal, to have kept it from overflowing into theſe impertinencies of ſedition, and to have confined it within its proper channel. The miniſters, who ſtepped ſo promptly forward to remonſtrate with their Queen on her religion, to violate duty, and to

* Yet Lethington, in the letter of November 1562, aſſures us, that "her behaviour" had been "ſuch towards theſe that "be of the [reformed] religion within her own realm, yea "and the religion itſelf," that it was then "a great deal more "*increaſed* ſince ſhe came home, than it was before." (Keith 234.)

outrage

outrage decency, in their addreſſes to her; if they had found themſelves treated with a little of that rigour which they had provoked, would have ſlunk away in terror to their reſpective pariſhes, have been content to ſpeak diſloyalty from their pulpits, and have even ſunk the rude clamours of ſedition there, into the ſofter and more ſuitable tones of devotion.

A firm hand of diſcipline muſt ſpeedily have effected this, if theſe champions of religion had ſtood only upon their own ground, and had been fighting only with their own forces. But the Scottiſh clergy were, what almoſt all clergy in ſuch circumſtances will be, only tools and implements in the hands of others. Too rough to be inſincere, too honeſt to be ſuſpicious, too untutored in the world to know it, and too warm about heaven to be wiſe concerning earth; they were ſure to be uſed by the factious for the proſecution of factious purpoſes, to become inſtrumental to miſchief which they never deſigned, and to find themſelves at laſt the unwitting authors of evil, which their worthy hearts abhorred.

§ III.

ONE great infelicity of Mary's life was this, that ſhe had a BROTHER. He was indeed a baſtard. He was, therefore, precluded from all poſſibility of mounting the throne. But he was precluded only by laws. Theſe alone created the impoſſibility. And laws might be reverſed by power. He appears to have been a

man of ſtrong and vigorous parts. They were of that kind, however, which are moſt common in the world, and which ſhew themſelves more in the weakneſs of others, than in their own ſtrength. His vigour was art, not intellect. His parts were a ſagacity of genius, which pointed out all the artifice of inſidiouſneſs to him; a dexterity of mind, which enabled him to uſe that artifice with great ſucceſs; and a verſatility of ſpirit, which qualified him for diſguiſing both to the eyes of the world. With only the title to diſtinction, which his baſtard alliance to the crown lent him; with only the ſlender poſſeſſions of a baſtard, to communicate power; with only the ſlight connections of a baſtard, to furniſh influence; he raiſed himſelf ſuperior to his ſovereign, and he ſeated himſelf on her throne. He had the addreſs, likewiſe, to make the moſt cunning and the moſt ambitious of his cotemporaries, to be ſubſervient to *his* cunning, and miniſterial to *his* ambition; to commit the enormities themſelves, which were neceſſary to *his* purpoſes; and even to dip their hands in murder, that *he* might enjoy the ſovereignty. But he diſplayed an addreſs ſtill greater than this. Though he had not one principle of religion within him; though he had not even one grain of honour in his ſoul; and though he was guilty of thoſe *more monſtrous* crimes, againſt which GOD has *peculiarly* denounced damnation; yet he was denominated A GOOD MAN by the Reformers at the time, and he has been conſidered as an HONEST MAN by numbers to our own days.

He

He felt the ſolicitations of ambition ſtirring within him ſo early and ſo ſtrongly, that before he was SEVENTEEN he entered into a correſpondence with the court of England, and engaged in a traitorous conſpiracy with it againſt his country, his ſovereign, and his family.* Such a *youth* was ſure to be a *man* uncommonly buſy and factious. He was then a mere eccleſiaſtic, however, with the title of the Prior of St. Andrew's. The laws of the church, bending too readily before the preſſure of the ſtate, admitted ſuch young eccleſiaſtics then, and ſtill admit them in all the regions of popery. He was ſettled in the church by his royal father, to keep him out of all ſecular employments, and to prevent all diſturbances from his ambition and birth. He afterwards obtained another priory, that of Pittenweem, in his own country; and a third, that of Maſcon, in France. He had a diſpenſation from the Pope for his baſtardy, which unqualified him, as it now unqualifies, for poſſeſſing any of the endowments of the church. He had alſo a bull from the Pope, for holding his French priory together with his Scotch preferments. And he took the uſual oath of obedience to the Pope.†

But the peaceful duties of a divine could never have ſatisfied the keen and reſtleſs temper of his ſpirits. Whatever the ſagacity of James

* Goodall, i. 152.

† Goodall, i. 152—Leſley's Negociations in Anderſon, iii. 30, and Keith, 75. 146. and 455.

the Fifth foreſaw, and whatever his prudence endeavoured to avert, by ſhrouding him in a caſſock, and fixing him in a ſtall; all was realized. The turbulent activity of his ſon's ſoul broke through every reſtraint. The churchman became ſecularized. The prior was transformed into an earl. And the baſtard proved eventually the curſe of his father's family. His genius called him out to thoſe ſcenes, principally, where he might have a play for his activity in *cunning*, and might give a ſcope to his turbulence in *intrigue*. He took his ſtation on the forbidden ground near the throne. His talents for buſineſs recommended him to the ſervice of it; and his ambition kept a ſteady eye upon it. The diſtracted ſtate of the nation was congenial to a ſpirit like his. He loved the mazes of political life. He loved to thicken the ſhades, and to entangle the walks, more and more. He loved to ſtand himſelf upon an eminence in the centre of his own labyrinths, to view all about him embarraſſed by the difficulties which he himſelf had made, and to enjoy the diſtreſs which he himſelf was occaſioning at the moment. He loved ſtill more, and with a more ſanguinary cunning, to raiſe a tempeſt around him, to direct it at the heads of thoſe who ſtood in the way of his aſpiring thoughts, and to ſit all the while ſeemingly unconcerned in the work. And when the Reformation broke out in all its wildneſs and ſtrength, he cloſed in with it; he put on the ſanctified air of a Reformer, he wrapped himſelf up in the long cloke of puritaniſm, he attached all

all the popular leaders among the clergy to him, and he prepared to make them his uſeful ſteps to the throne.

§ IV.

BUT even all this united could not have been effectual to the ruin of Mary. She met with the additional misfortune, of having a *couſin* and a *female* upon a neighbouring throne. England was then governed by ELIZABETH. Her character was very different from Mary's. In all the ſtronger and deeper lineaments of the mind, it was much ſuperior. But it was much inferior alſo, in all the amiable, the elegant, and the dignified graces of the heart and underſtanding. With a turn of religion, which gave her a predilection for proteſtantiſm, ſhe could have induced herſelf, I fear, either to continue the idolatrous devotions of popery, to adopt the manly ſervice of the church of England, or to take up the wild worſhip of the puritans, juſt as the ſcale of her intereſt had ſtrongly inclined. The voice of her ſubjects was for the ſecond. She, therefore, became a mother to religion and the church. Yet her regard for either was not ſufficient to keep her from acts of oppreſſion to the one, and from deeds of outrage to the other. She was buſy through her whole reign, in robbing the church of its poſſeſſions, by every petty trick of ſacrilegious impoſition which ſhe could play upon it, and by every bolder exertion of ſacrilegious authority which ſhe could make againſt it. Her private life, too, was ſtained with groſs licentiouſneſs.

neſs. The MAIDEN QUEEN had many gallants. And her politics were one vaſt ſyſtem of chicane and wrong, to all the nations about her.

She was particularly fond of embarraſſing them with diſſenſions among themſelves, that ſhe might be ſecure from their attempts upon her. This low and ungenerous kind of management, indeed, ſhelters itſelf with the many, who have virtue enough to ſtartle at an open knavery, under the dignified appellation of neceſſity. But let us not injure our hearts, by impoſing upon our underſtandings. Diſhoneſty is never neceſſary. GOD never did, GOD never will, create a neceſſity for knavery. Man alone does this, and then has the impudence to charge his own forgery upon GOD. But Elizabeth and her miniſters, I doubt not, whatever they might pretend to the virtuous body of the nation, triumphed in the happy inventiveneſs of their ſouls for miſchief, exulted over their long and laboured trains of miſery, and conſidered themſelves as the wiſe and intelligent ſpirits of the creation, who ſat in their orbs, preſided over their elements, and regulated the movements of all with their fingers. They knew not, that they were thus making themſelves the very DÆMONS OF VENGEANCE to all within the ſphere of their activity. They reflected not, that hiſtory would in time break through the clouds, in which they had wrapped themſelves up for their miſchievous purpoſes, and expoſe them in their fiend-like operations to the gaze of men. And while the ſubjects of Elizabeth were applauding the ſtratagems of policy,

licy, which ſhe was practiſing upon the ſtates around them; and were enjoying their ſucceſs, in the tranquillity of their own country, and in the diſtractions of others; they were little aware, that the hour was ſoon to come, when by the juſt retributions of an indignant Providence, thoſe ſtates ſhould play back upon us the ſtratagems which had been practiſed upon them, ſhould foment diſturbances among us by the ſame arts of unhallowed wiſdom, ſhould triumph over us with an equal ſucceſs from them, and ſhould help to work us up into all the frenzy of fanatics, and into all the inſanity of regicides. May the ſtrong and awful retaliation be a leſſon of national wiſdom for ages.

Elizabeth, however, had ſome ſpecial grounds of animoſity againſt Mary. The latter had a title, ſuch as it was, to the throne of the former. This was naturally preferred by the prejudices of the papiſt, to the right of Elizabeth herſelf. Mary had even aſſumed the arms and appellation of Queen of England, when ſhe was queen of France. And though ſhe had forborne to take them ever ſince ſhe became her own miſtreſs; Elizabeth had none of that generoſity about her, which could forgive. She had been alarmed. She was ſtill alarmed. The papiſts continued the claim, though Mary had reſigned it. She might one day ſee a formidable competitor for the crown in her, ſupported by all the popiſh faction in the iſland, and ſeconded by all the popiſh powers on the continent. Elizabeth's life was a life of miſchief

miſchief and of miſery; of miſchief to others, in the plots which ſhe was always forming againſt them; and of miſery to herſelf, in the fears and apprehenſions which ſhe was always entertaining of them. She was continually forging ſchemes of malignity againſt them, from ſome viſionary fears of her own concerning them. She then changed her viſionary into real fears, from the jealouſies which ſhe conceived of their retaliating upon her. And ſhe was finally obliged to fabricate new ſchemes of miſchief againſt them, in order to prevent or to counteract the deſigns, which ſhe was ſure they *would* form againſt her, becauſe ſhe was ſenſible they had every *right* to form them. Thus does Providence puniſh the inſidious with airy ſuſpicions at firſt, torment them with well-grounded jealouſies afterwards, and curſe them at laſt with the ſucceſs of their own machinations.

But this was not all. In the eyes of both papiſts and proteſtants, Mary had a right of eventual ſucceſſion to the crown. If Elizabeth ſhould die without legitimate iſſue, by all the principles of the conſtitution Mary was to fill her place. The expectation of this made Mary to reſign the other. And, by the hope of this, Elizabeth might have managed her completely. But that Queen had a weakneſs, often incident to ſtrong paſſions and little religion. She viewed her ſucceſſor as ſuch, with an eye of malignity. She could not bear to ſee another ready, even after her death, to ſtep into the vacant throne. She, therefore, kept the ſucceſſion undetermined

determined to the laſt. She thus endangered all the happineſs of her kingdom, merely for the gratification of her humour. She ſuffered the law of Henry her father, which in a *guſt* of ill-will, and in a *freak* of tyranny, had broke through the natural courſe of deſcent, and cut off the race of Scotland from the ſucceſſion, ſtill to remain unrepealed againſt them; though ſhe had once had the ſame ſort of law, and from the ſame kind of principle, made againſt herſelf. She was the *genuine* daughter of Henry! She carried the impreſſion of his mind ſtrongly ſtamped upon hers. She particularly did ſo on this occaſion. She had *her* guſts of ill-will. She had *her* freaks of tyranny. She equally ſacrificed the grand lines of the conſtitution to them. She even proceeded farther in both, than ever Henry did. She had it once enacted indirectly, but plainly, by a law, that the crown ſhould be worn after her death by her NATURAL ISSUE; a deſignation of her offspring, that in its *ordinary* import comprehends equally the ſpurious and the illegitimate, and in its *legal* acceptation peculiarly means the ſpurious. She even prohibited any of her ſubjects, by the terror of ſevere penalties in the law, from intimating in any manner or form, who was the next heir to the crown after her death, except it was her NATURAL ISSUE.* She even

* Statutes at large, 13°. c. 1. ſ. 2, and Camden Tranſ. 167, and Orig. 205. This was in 1571. But at the treaty, which was held in 1570 between Mary and Elizabeth, it was ſpecified

even died at laſt, though ſhe had no iſſue at all, without ſettling who was to ſucceed her; leaving the conſtitutional heirs of the throne under the ban of a prohibitory law, ſuffering no others to be appointed, and reſigning up the nation to all the horrors of a civil war. Theſe, indeed, the good ſenſe of the nation happily prevented. With one concurrent voice they broke through the prohibitory law. They did what Elizabeth ſhould have done. They called the conſtitutional heirs to the throne. But Elizabeth muſt have meant the reverſe of all this. She meant to leave "her good people" that worſt of all political calamities to a nation, an unſettled ſucceſſion; ſhe muſt have foreſeen all the riſing evils of it, yet ſhe ſtill left it. She left it as a *legacy of miſchief* after her death. Though counſelled by her par-

ſpecified by the latter, that the former ſhould ſucceed to the throne, "in caſe of Elizabeth's demiſe without ANY iſſue." Mary altered the limitation thus, "without LAWFUL iſſue." And Elizabeth would agree only to have it altered thus, "without iſſue BY A LAWFUL HUSBAND." (Guthry's Scotch Hiſt. vii. 299, and 368.) This remarkable fact, which was prior to the law, ſhews us, in union with it, the firmneſs of audacity with which Elizabeth purſued her purpoſes upon the ſucceſſion. She tried at firſt to make way for ANY iſſue. She then adhered reſolutely to any *by a lawful huſband*, becauſe ſhe could cure the baſtardy by a marriage. And ſhe at laſt ſpoke out with more than her original explicitneſs, ſpoke out even to her parliament, and had her *natural* iſſue by name rendered capable of ſucceeding her. Indeed, the exiſtence of ſuch a law as this upon our ſtatute book, is a full proof of the effrontery of Elizabeth in vice, and of the obſequiouſneſs of the nation in meanneſs; and the law itſelf ſtands as a ſtrong note of infamy upon both, at preſent.

liaments, and entreated by her people, ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her obſtinacy of not aſcertaining the ſucceſſion. She even did worſe. She prepared the way for additional pretenders to the crown, from any real or aſſerted baſtards of her own. She thus did all ſhe could do in her life to make England,

—— A ſtage
To feed contention in a lingering act.

And it is therefore the leſs to be wondered at, that ſhe perſecuted a woman, who was her couſin by blood and her heir by right, *becauſe* ſhe was her couſin and her heir.

But there was ſtill another motive, and of as hoſtile a nature as any before, and perhaps more powerful than any, in the conduct of Elizabeth to Mary. The former could not be content with the great ſuperiority which ſhe had over the latter, in a hardy vigour of underſtanding, in a deep knowledge of the world, and in the myſterious refinements of policy, in the ſtrength of her nation, and in the ſplendour of her government. She muſt arrogate a ſuperiority too, in the very orb in which Mary ſhone ſo tranſcendently. She muſt triumph over her in beauty, in dancing, and in dreſs; in thoſe very accompliſhments, which give the ſex ſuch an influence upon us, but in which we never think of rivalling them. Elizabeth was a *man* in moſt other reſpects. She ſhould have been peculiarly one in this. But the womanly part of her predominated here over the manly. And ſhe, who could *box* her *generals* upon occaſion, could not bear to be ſurpaſſed in accompliſhments purely feminine, by the moſt hand-

handſome, the moſt graceful, and the moſt improved princeſs of her age.*

All united to make Elizabeth an enemy to Mary. As a queen, and as a woman; as actuated by political jealouſies, as ſtimulated by perſonal humours; and as impelled by female vanities; ſhe became at firſt a pretended friend to betray her, and ſhe appeared at laſt an open enemy to deſtroy her. She laviſhed all her arts of deception upon her. She then found herſelf ſo entangled in the ſtrings of her own nets, that ſhe could not either retreat or advance: and ſhe thought herſelf obliged in the end, for the ſake of her own ſecurity, to terminate in deſperation, what ſhe had commenced in jealouſy.—She arraigned a Queen of Scotland before a tribunal of Engliſh nobles; ſhe thus ſet an example, infamous in itſelf, pernicious to ſociety, and peculiarly pernicious and infamous to her own country, of having a ſovereign condemned to the block by ſubjects: ſhe urged her meaner dependents upon ASSASSINATING Mary, that ſhe might not behead her, but ſhe found even *their* conſciences revolting at the villainous intima-

* See that very curious paſſage in Melvill's Memoirs, which is ſo pregnant with intelligence concerning this under part of Elizabeth's character, p. 49—51. See alſo 69—70. And in p. 49, we have another touch, of a ſtill more retired part of her character, which has been equally unnoticed. "The queen, 'my "miſtreſs," ſays Melvill, "had inſtructed me to leave matters "of gravity ſometimes, and *caſt in merry purpoſes*, leſt other-"wiſe I ſhould be wearied; *ſhe being well informed of that "queen's natural temper.*"

nets,

tion. She then ſigned the bloody warrant with her own hand. She could be wantonly jocular at doing it. She could pretend to recall it, when it had been ſent away. She could pretend to lay the guilt of it upon her ſecretary's head. She could yet deny to Mary for ever, what was never denied to the meaneſt criminal before, the favour of having a clergyman of her own communion to attend her. She could point her perſecution againſt the *ſoul*, as well as the body, of Mary. And at length ſhe ſtained her conſcience with one of the fouleſt murders, that the annals of earth can produce; then felt herſelf almoſt petrified with horror, at the related execution of what ſhe had commanded; felt herſelf peculiarly haunted, at the cloſe of life, with the frightful image of the deed which ſhe had committed; and killed herſelf at laſt with a ſullen bravery of melancholy, the moſt extraordinary that is to be met with in hiſtory.* Hear this, all ye who are tempted by the ſolicitations of artifice, to leave the line of rectitude, and to violate the laws of conſcience. Ye will be dreadfully breaking in upon your boſom-peace by the deed. One enormity is ſure to lead you to another. Ye will feel yourſelves, at the end of all, ſurrounded with your own ſtratagems, encircled with your own ſnares, and bound faſt in the very center of your own deſigns. And ye will then, like the wretched Elizabeth, fancy yourſelves compelled to cut your way through them, with

* Camden Tranſ. 279 and 368. Orig. 336 and 439.

crimes, with horror, and with damnation attending upon you.†

§ v.

ON theſe flagitious principles, and with this horrible iſſue to them, Elizabeth engaged in intrigues againſt Mary. She banded with her ambitious brother. She banded with her ſeditious clergy. She furniſhed them with aſſiſtance ſecretly. She lent them her countenance openly. And, from both, they at length drove their ſovereign out of the country. She took refuge in Elizabeth's dominions. She thus gave her one of the fineſt opportunities, that time had ever preſented to an heroical mind, of acting with a dignified ſpirit of honour at the laſt. Mary was ſurely reduced below her *envy* at preſent. She had been raviſhed by one of her brutal barons. She had been expoſed, as a captive, to all the ſcorn of her rabble. She had been locked up in a dungeon within a lake. She had been there committed to the care of that very whore, who was the mother of her baſtard brother; who

† The very extraordinary melancholy of Elizabeth has been attributed, by what I may ſurely call the injudiciouſneſs of hiſtory, to her pardon of Tyrone, to her putting Eſſex to death, or to the obſerved indifference of her people concerning her declining health. But theſe are reaſons apparently of too frivolous a nature, for the production of ſuch a wonderful effect. And I have, therefore, referred it to the only incident of her reign, which can be conſidered as any way adequate to it; and which indeed ſeems naturally to prepare the reflecting mind, for ſuch a dreadful counterpart at laſt.

inſulted

inſulted over her with the natural inſolence of a whore's meanneſs, in aſſerting the legitimacy of her own baſtard, and in maintaining the illegitimacy of Mary;* and who even carried the natural vulgarity of a whore's impudence ſo far, as to ſtrip her of all her royal ornaments, and to dreſs her up like a mere child of fortune, in a "courſe broune caſſoke." † She had even been accuſed of ADULTERY to her late huſband. She had even been charged with the MURDER of him. And ſhe had been thus charged and accuſed, not in the private diſcourſes, or the private publications, of the rebels; but in full form, in open parliament, and in the hearing of all the world. In ſuch a ſituation, all the little jealouſies of the rival will ſurely melt away in the compaſſions of the woman. Nor can ſhe any longer be *afraid* of Mary. The dreaded competitor for the crown of England, has now loſt her own; and now lies (as it were) at her feet, ſoliciting her kindneſs, and imploring her aſſiſtance. Every generous ſentiment that ever harboured in the mind of Elizabeth, will now be called into life again. Every tender ſenſibility that ever was felt at the heart of Elizabeth, will now be rouſed into activity again. Both will unite their powers. And Elizabeth will eagerly catch at the happy opportunity for glory, will ſeal it down to her honour in all the future

* Camden's Tranſ. 94. Orig. 117, Crawford 49 and Jebb, i. 404 and 465.

† Leſley's Defence of Q. Mary's Honour, 36. Anderſon, i.

ages of our annals; and will deſcend to poſterity with theſe illuſtrious titles, the Friend of Order, the Aſſertor of Juſtice, and the Vindicator of an Injured Queen.

But Elizabeth had no ſenſibilities of tenderneſs, and no ſentiments of generoſity. She looked not forward to the awful verdict of hiſtory. She had no dread, even for the infinitely more awful doom of GOD. Regardleſs of her own invitation, regardleſs of her own promiſes, regardleſs of every ſanction human and divine; ſhe flew upon the unhappy Queen, ſeized her as a prey, and impriſoned her as a felon. I bluſh as an Engliſhman to think, that it was an Engliſh Queen who could do this; that it was one of the moſt enlightened princes, which ever ſat upon the throne of England; and that it was one, whoſe name I was taught to liſp in my infancy, as the honour of her ſex, and the glory of our iſle.*

Yet ſhe did even *more* than this. She obliged the unwilling rebels to come forward with their aſſerted evidences againſt her. She forced them upon pretending to ſubſtantiate their accuſation of adultery, and to authenticate their charge of murder. And, at laſt, ſhe entered into a DIABOLICAL COMPACT with them, to receive their ſpurious evidences as genuine; to receive

* How different the conduct of Mary would have been, if ſhe had ſtood in the ſituation of Elizabeth, and Elizabeth in hers; we may be morally certain from a ſlight ſtroke in one of Mary's letters to Elizabeth. "*In that you truſt me,*" ſhe ſays on July 5, 1568, "*I will not (to die for it) deceive* "*you.*" Robertſon, ii. 453.

them

them in ſuch a manner, as ſhould preclude all poſſibility of detecting their ſpuriouſneſs; and to vouch them for genuine by her own authority: ſo to blaſt the character of Mary with all the world, for the gratification of her own paltry revenge; and then to keep her in priſon for life, or to deliver her up to her rebels, for the ſupport of their ſcandalous uſurpation.

Nor let it be ſuſpected, that I exaggerate in ſaying this. The records of it all are ſtill in being. They are indelible monuments of the infamy of Elizabeth, and of the innocence of Mary. And I ſhall lay them at full length before my readers*.

* See particularly Goodall, i. 403—404. But the circumſtance of Elizabeth's invitation and promiſe is laid open in its full force, by two papers preſented by Mary's commiſſioners *to Elizabeth herſelf*. Theſe are therefore the beſt vouchers: yet they have never been cited to appear. On the 16th of December, 1568, one of thoſe commiſſioners addreſſed Elizabeth thus. "Mary," he ſays, came into England "upon *divers* and *ſindrie* faithful promiſes paſt "*befoir* betwixt zour [your] Hienes and hir, and *confirmit* "be *writingis* and *taikinis* laitlie ſent betwix zour Majeſtie "and hir; and *laſt* of all, *as zour Majeſtie has knawin*, be "Beton." (Goodall ii. 265) And the ſame commiſſioner, the very next day, (ſee *errata* prefixed to ibid. v. i. and introd. p. 7) addreſſed Elizabeth again, with reminding her of the "*ſindrie* "promiſes of friendſhip, amitie, and mutual aſſiſtance, *affirmit* "*be tokenis* and *writingis*; and *laſt* of all, be *reſaving the ring* "*again* fra Beton, immediately efter hir delivering furth of "Lochlevin [her priſon], *quhilks zour Majeſtie had geven and* "*interchangit* as *a pledge of amitie and promiſe of help to* "*uthers* [*each other*] *mutuallie*, quhenſoever *occaſioun ſould* "*require*." (Ibid. ii. 384.)

CHAPTER II.

§ 1.

MARY was one of thoſe characters, which we meet with very ſeldom in the world; and which, whenever they appear, are applauded for their generoſity by a few, and condemned for their ſimplicity by the many. They have an eaſy affiance of ſoul, which loves to repoſe confidence, even when confidence is weakneſs. They thus go on, ſtill confiding, and ſtill confounded; unable to check the current of affiance that runs ſtrong in their boſoms, and ſuffering themſelves to be driven before it in their actions. And all the firſt half of their lives forms one continued tiſſue of confidences improperly placed, and of perfidies natural to be expected. Such a perſon was Mary! She once had her baſtard brother and his adherents under her feet; but too eaſily forgave them. She once had all her other rebels under the harrows of the law; but too readily releaſed them. The former roſe in rebellion, and were defeated. The latter murdered her foreign ſecretary in her preſence, and even impriſoned her own perſon in her palace; and yet were overpowered by the management of the Queen, and the fidelity of her peers. And ſhe not only allowed them

them to return home from their baniſhment; but reſtored them to their eſtates, reſtored them to their honours, and even reſtored them to their poſts about her court. She thus enabled them to repeat their rebellions, with equal power and with improved experience. In ſo doing, ſhe was certainly guilty of great folly. Yet ſhe did even more than this. She afterwards took the *verbal aſſurances* of the very ſame men in rebellion; who, to be rebels at firſt, muſt have previouſly broken through the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that man can give, even their very oaths; and who, to be rebels again, muſt have violated every additional obligation of gratitude and honour. But ſhe took their words, notwithſtanding. She relied upon them ſo implicitly, as to put her perſon into their hands. Then they behaved, juſt as ſuch ungrateful, diſhonourable, and perjured wretches were ſure to behave. They thruſt her into a priſon. They forced her to reſign her crown. They nominally placed her ſon on the throne; and they really fixed themſelves upon it. By her affability, her dignity, and her prudence, ſhe won upon the hearts of thoſe about her. By their aid ſhe eſcaped out of priſon. She eſcaped too at a critical period, when the villains that detained her in priſon, were meditating their grand ſtroke of murder againſt her.*

* Anderſon, iv. part. 1, 31, "Lors qu'ils panſoyent me faire mourir." Mary's own letter a few days afterward to Elizabeth.

Yet ſhe was ſtill the ſame in this point. Her late experience, very ſevere as it was, had not cured this original milkineſs of her mind. She was ſtill credulous in the honeſty of mankind, and ſtill confident of the ſincerity of others. She raiſed an army in an inſtant. She was defeated, however. And ſhe again repeated the nearly fatal ſtroke of confidence before. She flew from the perfidies of her rebels: ſhe threw herſelf upon the perfidies of Elizabeth. She found Elizabeth even more perfidious than they. And from *this* exertion of abuſed confidence, ſhe could never recover herſelf afterwards. Nor let her be too freely cenſured for all. In the preſent conſtitution of things, where the original dignity of man is in a perpetual conflict with the introduced ſpirit of meanneſs, that affection of the heart, which does it moſt credit, in reality, becomes its greateſt reproach in the eyes of the many. A generous confidence in the virtue of others, is the mark of a ſoul, conſcious of the energy of virtue in itſelf, buoyed up by its own vigour within, and not yet drawn down by the attraction of earth below. Mary's was of this kind. Time, if time had been allowed her, would have forced her to learn the neceſſary wiſdom of the world. The great multitude of mankind learn it, without the aid of time. They look into their own hearts, and read it there. They have no ſtubbornneſs of virtue to ſubdue; they have no forwardneſs of honour to reſtrain. Mary had. She was caſt in a much ſuperior mould. And ſhe died

at

at laſt a martyr, to the ſincerity of virtue in herſelf, and to a reliance upon it in others.

She took refuge in England on the 16th of May, 1568, being little more than TWENTY-FIVE years old. On the 22d of June following, the baſtard brother, now Earl of Murray and regent of Scotland, addreſſed himſelf to Elizabeth's agent at Edinburgh in theſe terms: "Becauſe we perſave the trial," he ſaid, "*qubilk* "*the Quenis Majeſtie*" of England "*is myndit to* "*have taken*, is to be uſit with grit ceremonye "and ſolemniteis, we wald be maiſt laith [moſt "loth] to enter in accuſatioun of the Quene, "moder of the king our ſoverane, and ſyne "[afterwards] to enter into qualification with "hir; for all men may judge how dangerous "and prejudicial that ſuld be. Alwayis, in cais "the Quenis Majeſtie WILL HAVE the ACCUSA-"TION DIRECTLIE TO PROCEID, it were maiſt reſ-"ſonabill we underſtude *qubat we ſuld luke to* "*follow thairupon*, in cais we preive all that we "alledge; utherwayis we ſal be als [as] incer-"tane efter the caus concludit as we are pre-"ſentlie [at preſent]. And thairfoir we pray zow "[you] require hir Hienes *in this point* to reſolve "us."* Murray wanted not to bring forward the accuſation of Mary. He was already in poſſeſſion of the regency. He could not be in poſſeſſion of more, even if he ſucceeded in the ac-

* Appendix, No. III. at the end of vol. 2d. Mr. Goodall in preface, p. x. by miſtake calls it "Murray's note to Mid-"dlemore, the *eighth* of June," which is the date of Elizabeth's letter to Murray. Goodall, ii. 73.

cuſation

cuſation. He might not ſucceed. He knew well the defectiveneſs of his proofs. He was therefore very naturally full of apprehenſions, concerning the event. But Elizabeth *would have* the accuſation to proceed. And he was ſcheming plainly to make a formal agreement with her, before he ventured to produce his evidences. He ſaw the eagerneſs of the Queen to have them produced. He durſt not refuſe her. The ſlighteſt aſſiſtance lent to Mary againſt him, would have overſet him at once from his ſeat of uſurpation. Yet he prudently refuſed to gratify her, before he had entered into ſome ſtipulations to his own advantage. He would be left in the regency by Elizabeth, if he proved his charges; and Mary ſhould never be aſſiſted by Elizabeth in diſturbing him.

Thus plainly did Elizabeth urge the unwilling Murray, to come forward with a charge of adultery, and with a charge of murder, againſt Mary. Yet at this very time, ſhe was pretending to Murray himſelf, *not* to intend to invite any charges againſt her; *not* to mean to allow of any faults in her; and merely to deſign a ſettlement of all differences between her and him upon reaſonable terms. So hypocritical was ſhe at the very outſet of the buſineſs! Yet ſhe was ſtill more ſo. At this very time, when ſhe was ſtimulating Murray to accuſe Mary, and yet telling him ſhe did not want him to accuſe her; ſhe was even then preſſing Mary to agree to a conference with Murray, *in order* to give *opportunity for introducing the ac-*

cuſation, and yet under an expreſs ſtipulation of *making Murray by it to reſtore the crown to Mary*. Theſe two facts together unite to form ſuch an extreme of hypocriſy, and ſuch a comprehenſiveneſs of diſſimulation, as is ſcarcely to be credited. I therefore proceed to prove them.

We have already ſeen, that "the Quenis Ma-"jeſtie was myndit to have a trial taken" concerning Mary, and that ſhe "*would have* the "accuſation directlie to proceid" againſt her. Yet in a ſet of objections and anſwers written by her prime-miniſter Cecil himſelf, and relating to this meſſage of Murray's, "the Quene's Ma-"jeſty," it is ſaid, "never meaneth ſo to deale "in the cauſe, as to proceed to any condemna-"tion of the Queen of Scots; but *hath a deſyre* "*to compound all differences betwixt hir and hir* "*ſubjects*, and therein not to *allow any faults* "that ſhall appear to be in the Quene, but by "reaſonable and honourable conditions *to make* "*ſome good end*, with ſufficient ſuerty for *all* par-"tyes." * And at the ſame time, as Mary herſelf informs us, "hir Grace of hir guidneſs did "promiſe to *ſupport* me, and to *repone me in my* "*awin realme* be hir grace's forces onlie, quhair "throw I miſterit not [I ſhould not trouble my-"ſelf] to require any uther prince for aſſiſtance "in my cauſis; and, in hoip theirof, deſyrit me "ERNESTLIE to deſiſt and ceis fra all ſuit at the "king of Spain and uther princes handis for ſup-"port; quhilk deſyre I obeyit, putting my haill

* Goodall, ii. 89.

"con-

" confidence, nixt God, in hir Grace's promiſes." With ſuch a variation of hypocriſy was Elizabeth acting at this moment! But having thus induced Mary to drop all applications to foreign princes for aid, by a ſolemn promiſe of reſtoring her to her crown, with her own ſoldiery; ſhe then began to falter a little in her promiſe. "Then," ſays Mary, " hir Grace thinking it to " be mair meit, that all my cauſis ſould be ſet " forward be ſum gude dreſs, *rather than be force*, " hir Hienes deſyrit me alſwa VERY ERNESTLIE to " ſuffer hir a ſhort ſpace to travel with the Erle " of Murray and his adherents (*quha had ſub-* " *mittit thair haill cauſis in hir handis*), to cauſe " thame REPAIR THE WRANGIS AND ATTEMPTA- " TIS COMMITTIT AGANIS ME THEIR SOVERANE, " and contrair thair alledgeance and dewtie, and " TO DESIST AND CEIS IN TIMES CUMING, quhair " throw I micht be REPONIT in my realme, auc- " toritie and government thairof, but [without] " ony impediment, and be her Hienes's labouris " and moyen, *rather than be force of armis*; de- " ſyring alſwa, that I wald uſe hir counſal to- " ward the WRANG and OFFENCES committit be " thame, how the ſamin ſould be REPAIRIT to " my honour, and my CLEMENCIE BE USIT TO- " WARDIS THAME be hir Grace's ſicht."* So explicit was ſhe ſtill in her promiſe of reſtoring Mary to her throne, even when ſhe was forming her plan for keeping her out of it.

* Goodall, ii. 338, 339.

Nor

Nor let any doubt ariſe upon the mind of my reader, as to the validity of Mary's evidence againſt Elizabeth. She muſt be the only evidence of what ſhe alone can know, the contents of Elizabeth's letters to her. All, indeed, is confirmed by a memorial, which her commiſſioner, the biſhop of Roſs, *preſented to Elizabeth herſelf*. At Mary's coming into England, he ſays to Elizabeth, "Zour Majeſtie cauſit hir to be thankfullie reſſa-"vit, and TUIK IN HAND TO DRESS HIR CAUSIS "TO HIR HONOUR AND WEILL, ſobeit ſcho wald "leive the ſeiking of ayd and ſupport of all "uther princes, and ſtay hirſelf onlie upon zour "Hienes, quhilk, upon the truſt foirſaid, ſcho "willinglie obeyit." * But, what doubly confirms all, Elizabeth at this very time, ſays the ſame biſhop in a treatiſe afterwards, "did aſſure "the moſte Chriſtian kinge of Fraunce," of ſucceſs in this treaty; "promiſinge to doe her "exact diligence, to procure THE RESTITUTION "OF THE Q. OUR SOVEREIGNE TO HER CROWNE "AND REALMES, and a goode agreement to be "made amongeſt her ſubjects for the commoun "quietnes of the realme." † And, to preclude all poſſibility of doubt, Sir Francis Knollys informs Cecil, by a letter of July 28th, 1568, that my Lord Herries, juſt returned from Elizabeth to Mary, informed the latter in his and Lord Scroop's requeſted preſence, He was authorized by Elizabeth to ſay, "yf ſhe wold commyt hyr

* Goodall, ii. 384.

† Leſley's Negotiations, 24. Anderſon, iii.

"cauſe

" cauſe to be heard by hyr Hyghnes order,—as—
" hyr deare couſine and frende,—hyr Hyghnes
" WOLD SURELY SETT HYR AGAYNE IN HYR SEATE
" OF REGIMENT AND DIGNITYE REGALL;" if her rebels ſhould bring any ſatisfactory reaſons for their behaviour, " conditionally," that her rebels ſhould be pardoned; and, if they did not, " then her Hyghnes WOLD ABSOLUTELY SETT " HYR IN HYR SEAT REGALL." * So ſeemingly mounted up to the very *apex* of hypocriſy at once, does Elizabeth here appear! So ſeemingly does the firſt ſtroke of the pencil complete the picture of diſſimulation in her! But we ſhall ſee her picture heightened with a thouſand touches of diſſimulation beſides; and we ſhall ſee her mount infinitely higher on the pinnacle of hypocriſy hereafter.

Murray's overture to Elizabeth is the fundamental evidence of all. To that overture Elizabeth undoubtedly acceded. We have not, indeed, her immediate anſwer to it. An anſwer, we know, ſhe actually returned. " When their " lettres, contayning the doubt before by them " moved," ſay the commiſſioners of Elizabeth to Murray and Murray's aſſociates a little afterwards at York, " were delivered to the Quene's " Majeſtie's handes, they knew that *immediately* " *hir Highnes did forthwith depeche* [diſpatch] *her*

* Anderſon, iv. part. i. 109—110. In conſequence of this promiſe, Mary with equal propriety and dignity exclaimed a little before her murder, " Hæc dextra fideſque?" and, " Sic nos in ſceptra reponis?"

" *anſwer*

"*anſwer thereunto.*" * This anſwer has been loſt. We have, indeed, what is called an anſwer, in the objections and replies which I have juſt mentioned, as drawn up by Cecil with a view to this letter of Murray's. But, as thoſe could be only the rudiments of an anſwer, ſo could they not be of the real and actual anſwer. They carry with them the appearance of a paper merely *oſtenſible.* Let the reader judge from one of the objections and replies. "*Obj.* They would be loth "to enter fyrſt into an accuſation of the Quene, "and then after that to enter into a qualifica- "tion. *Anſ.* The Quene's Majeſty never ment "to *have any to come to make any accuſation of* "*the Queen,* but meaning to have *ſome good end to* "*grow* betwixt the Quene and hir ſubjectis, was "content to hear any thing which they had to "ſay for themſelves; and if they will come into "hir Majeſty's realme, they ſhall be heard."†

This evidently bears ſuch an air of hypocriſy upon the face of it, as could never be hoped to be ſucceſsfully impoſed upon a Murray. It could be calculated only for his exhibition of it to ſome of his honeſter adherents. Such a hypocrite as Murray is never to be taken in by diſſimulation. Nor will ſuch a hypocrite as Elizabeth ever attempt to do it. And that it was not the real anſwer given to Murray, is plain from what are equally ſatisfactory to us with the real one

* Goodall, ii. 127. † Goodall, ii. 69.

itſelf,

itſelf, but which are very different from this oſtenſible one of Cecil's; the inſtructions of Elizabeth to her commiſſioners afterwards, and a letter of Elizabeth's to Murray, dated the ſame day with the inſtructions.

"Where we hear ſay," ſays Elizabeth, on September the 20th, to Murray, "that certain "reports are made in ſundry parts of Scotland, "that whatſoever ſhould fall out now upon the "hearing of the Queen of Scotts cauſe, in any "proof to convince (convict) or to acquit the "ſaid Queen concerning the horrible murder "of her late huſband our couſin, *we have de-* "*termined to reſtore her to her kingdom and go-* "*vernment*, we do ſo MUCH MISLIKE HEREOF, as "WE CANNOT INDURE THE SAME TO RECEIVE "ANY CREDIT; and therefore we have thought "good to aſſure you, that the ſame is UNTRULY "DEVISED by the authors TO OUR DISHONOUR: for "as we have been always certified from our ſaid "ſiſter, both by her letters and meſſages, that "ſhe is by no means guilty or participant of that "murder, which we wiſh to be true; ſo ſurely "if ſhe ſhould be found juſtly to be guilty "thereof, as hath been reported of her, whereof "we would be very ſorry; then, indeed, it "ſhould behove us to conſider otherwiſe of her "cauſe, than to ſatisfy her deſire in reſtitution "of her to the government of that kingdom: "and ſo we would have YOU AND ALL OTHERS "THINK, that ſhould be diſpoſed to conceive

"HONOURABLY

"HONOURABLY of us and our actions."* This is ſufficiently explicit. But let us turn to the inſtructions, which are equally dated on the 20th of September, in the grand commiſſion for the whole. Theſe do what Elizabeth's letter does not. Theſe plainly refer to Murray's meſſage before. Theſe directly reply to it. And they run thus. "If the Earle of Murray and his partie "ſhall alledge," ſhe ſays, "that although they "can juſtly convince [convict] the Quene of the "great crimes wherewith ſhe hath been bur-"dened, yet they find it not expedient ſo to do "*upon the doubt they have*, that the Quene's Ma-"jeſty will, notwithſtanding any crime proved "upon her, *reſtore her to her kingdom and rule*, "whereupon they ſhould never be free from her "indignation; and ſo they will *ſtay and not pro-"ceed*, without they may *know* her Majeſtie's "purpoſe, in caſe the ſaid Quene ſhould be prov-"ed guilty of her huſband's murder; it may be "anſwered by the Quene's Majeſtie's commiſ-"ſioners, that, *if her Majeſtie ſhall find it to be "plainly and manifeſtly proved*, ſurely her Majeſtie "would think hir UNWORTHY OF A KINGDOM, "and would NOT STAYNE HER OWN CON-"SCIENCE by RESTORING HER TO A KING-"DOM."† All, therefore, ſhews us very plainly the anſwer of Elizabeth to the overture of Murray; that anſwer which ſhe returned, as the

* Robertſon, ii. 387. Edition 4th.
† Goodall, ii. 99.

commiſſioners have told us already, " immedi-
" ately" and " forthwith" upon the receipt of
Murray's doubts. If he could convict Mary of
the crimes with which he charged her, he would
have no need to enter into any accommodation
with her. Mary was never to be reſtored by
Elizabeth. Yet all the while, let me again re-
mark, Elizabeth was writing *oſtenſibly* to Murray,
that ſhe wanted no one to accuſe Mary, that ſhe
never meant to condemn her on any accuſation,
that ſhe ſhould allow of no faults in her, and that ſhe
would endeavour to ſettle all differences betwixt
her and her ſubjects upon grounds reaſonable
and honourable to both. And all the while, too,
Elizabeth was promiſing Mary herſelf to reſtore
her, to make her ſubjects ſubmit to her, force
them to repair her wrongs, and oblige them to
accept her clemency. In ſo much ſtronger light
ſtill does the hypocriſy of Elizabeth appear, at
the very commencement of this buſineſs.

Her commiſſioners afterwards applied theſe
very words in their commiſſion, to the reſolution
of the very ſame doubt, when it was alleged
again by the rebels. They even applied them, as
reſolving the doubt in the very ſame manner.
Murray declared to them at York, they tell us,
that he and his aſſociates " were deſirous to un-
" derſtand, if in this action they ſhall prove all
" things directly, wherewith they maye and do
" burden the Quene, their ſovereigne's mother,
" how they maye be aſſured to be free and with-
" out daunger of the ſaid Quene's diſpleaſure,

"if ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her former eſtate;
"to whome it was ſaide by the Quene's Majeſtie's
"commiſſioners, that as in few wordes her High-
"nes had delivered *them* her pleaſure therein,
"ſo wolde *they* in few wordes deliver the ſame
"unto *them*, which was, that indede her Majeſ-
"tie's deſire hath always bene from the begyn-
"ning, that the ſaid Quene might be founde free,
"ſpecially from the crime of her huſband's mur-
"der; nevertheleſs, if her Majeſtie ſhall fynde
"to be playnelye and manifeſtly proved (whereof
"ſhe wolde be verie ſorie) that the ſaid Quene
"of Scottes was the deviſor and procurer of that
"murder, or otherwiſe was giltie thereof, SURELY
"HER MAJESTIE WOLDE THINKE HER UNWORTHY
"OF A KINGDOME, and WOLDE NOT STAINE HER
"OWNE CONSCIENCE in mayntenance of ſuch
"a deteſtable wickedneſs, BY RESTORING HER
"TO A KINGDOME. Then the regent [Mur-
"ray] opened the cauſe why he moved this queſ-
"tion, declaring, that it was not only put out
"and publiſhed in Scotland, but even now in
"this citie; that either ſhe ſhould be amplie
"reſtored, or otherwiſe by ſome degrees reſtored
"and ſent home amongs them: and do not let
"to ſaye, that THEY HAVE THE QUENE'S MA-
"JESTIE'S PROMES TO SHEW IN WRITINGE to
"confirme the ſame. It was anſwered there-
"unto by the Quene's Majeſtie's commiſſioners,
"that it weare by them to be conſidered from
"whence thoſe wordes came; if from their ad-
"verſe partie, who can let them ſpeak what

" themſelves will deviſe? But, ſurely, either from
" HER MAJESTIE, or any by [of] her commyſ
" ſioners, *they could not affirme the ſame*; *ſo*
" when THEIR LETTRES, conteyninge the doub
" before by them moved, weare delivered t
" the Quene's Majeſtie's handes, they knew tha
" immediately her Highnes did forthwith de
" peche her anſwer thereunto, IN SORTE AS (
" nothinge had byn now ſpoken by us, he
" Grace's commyſſioners) IT MIGHT HAVE SA
" TISFIED THAT DOUBT AND QUESTION."*
Elizabeth, therefore, anſwered their doubt be
fore, exactly as her inſtructions to her commiſ
ſioners ſpoke, and exactly as her commiſſioner
ſpoke from thoſe inſtructions to the rebels, tha
ſhe would *not* reſtore Mary to her crown, if th
rebels could prove her guilty of murder; thoug
ſhe had been aſſuring thoſe rebels, that ſhe woul
allow *no* faults in Mary, and though ſhe had bee
promiſing Mary herſelf, that ſhe *would* reſtor
her. And as the commiſſioners informed Eliza
beth herſelf, of the written promiſe that was read
to be ſhewn from Elizabeth for the reſtoration o
Mary, of their denial of it, and of their aſſur
ance in the language of her letter to the rebels
and of her inſtructions to them her commiſſioners
that Mary would not be reſtored if proved guilty
the commiſſioners unwittingly exhibit the hypo
criſy of Elizabeth, in a ſtill ſtronger light tha
ever.

Murray muſt have ſeen the hypocriſy plain

* Goodall. ii. 126, 127.

himſelf

himſelf, from the oſtenſible and the real anſwer of Elizabeth compared together. He muſt have ſeen it much more plainly, from the writing which was ready to be produced, with Elizabeth's promiſe to Mary in it. But he was too much an hypocrite himſelf, to be offended with the duplicity of a ſiſter in hypocriſy. He was only acting hitherto, in order to pleaſe ſome of his honeſter adherents. He had a much deeper game to play for himſelf, as I ſhall ſoon ſhew. *This* proves the meſſage by Middlemore, and the application to the commiſſioners, to have been calculated merely for others. And theſe others were now called upon by no leſs a bribe, than the promiſe of Murray's continuance in the royalty under the name of regent, and conſequently of their own continuance in places of power and profit under him, to charge the Queen boldly with the murder of her huſband, to ſcrew up their invention for evidences to the higheſt pitch, and to produce them confidently before the court.

But, as I have intimated already, neither Murray nor Elizabeth would reſt the cauſe merely upon this. They muſt, both of them, go much farther to anſwer their reſpective purpoſes. Accordingly Murray, in the addreſs before, which was to be reported to Elizabeth, and which, as we have already ſeen, was actually reported to her, ſpoke additionally thus. "Further," he ſays, "it may be, that ſic [ſuch] LETTERIS as we heif "of the Quene, our Soverane Lordis moder, "that ſufficientlie in our opinion preivis hir

" conſenting to the murthure of the King hir " lauchfull huſband, *ſall be callit in doubt be* " *the juges* to be conſtitute for examinatioun and " trial of the caus, whether *they may ſtand or fall,* " *pruif or not:* thairfoir, ſen our ſervand Mr. " Jhone Wode hes the COPIES of the ſamin " letteris TRANSLATIT in our language, we " wald *earneſtly* deſyre, that the ſaidis COPIES " may be *conſiderit be the juges*;—that they may " reſolve us this far, IN CAIS THE PRINCIPAL " AGRET WITH THE COPIE, that THEN WE PRUIF " THE CAUS INDEED: for when we have mani- " feſted and ſchawin all, and zet [yet] ſall haif " na ASSURANCE that IT WE SEND ſall SATIS- " FIE FOR PROBATIOUN, for *quhat purpois ſal we* " *ather accuſe or take care how to pruif.*"* Thus had Murray the effrontery to propoſe to Elizabeth, that her commiſſioners, which were to be appointed, ſhould receive as evidence of the higheſt crimes in Mary, a ſet of LETTERS pretended to be written by her; that they ſhould peruſe them over, *before* they were produced as evidence; that they ſhould peruſe only *copies*, and even only *tranſlations* of them: and, that they ſhould then aſſure him, whether they would admit them as full evidence of guilt; NOT if *the originals appeared to be written in her own hand*, BUT if *the originals agreed with the copies.*

This was ſuch a propoſal, as required no refinements of religion, and aſked no delicacies of honour, to ſpurn at it with contempt. Even a

* Goodall, ii, 75, 76.

common

common ſhare of religion, or of honour, muſt have rejected it with ſcorn. Even only the loweſt ſtrain of probity, which works in the breaſt of the vulgar; even only the modeſty, that adheres to a young ſinner; even only the ſhame, that ſilently pulls the heartſtrings of all but abandoned vice; would have conſidered the propoſal as an inſult, and have diſmiſſed it with diſdain. But did Elizabeth do ſo? In that oſtenſible paper which I have mentioned before, ſhe pretended to do ſo. There we find the following queſtion and anſwer. *Queſt.* "Whyther, if the originals ſhall "accord with the copys of the wrytings produced "to charge the Quene of Scots, the proof ſhall "be thought ſufficient?" *Anſ.* "No proves "can be taken for ſufficient, without hearyng "of both partyes."* This was ſpeaking honeſtly. But I have ſo clearly convicted this paper of falſehood already, and it ſhews us ſo plainly its own hypocriſy, that we cannot be impoſed upon by it. Whether Elizabeth *did* reject this propoſal of Murray's, let FACTS tell. *They* cannot lie. *They* cannot deceive us. Let, particularly, the conduct of her commiſſioners ſpeak at large, hereafter. And let her own conduct ſpeak briefly at preſent. Murray had plainly intimated, that unleſs this propoſal was agreed to, he would not come forward with his evidence. "When we "haif manifeſtit and ſchawin all," he ſays, "and "zet ſall haif na aſſurance, that it we ſend ſall

* Goodall, ii. 89.

" ſatisfie for probatioun ; *for quhat purpois ſall we* " *ather accuſe or take care how to pruif!*" Elizabeth muſt, therefore, have NOW ſeen the writings to be ſpurious, if ſhe ever believed them to be genuine, and have NOW known the man to be a villain of the firſt magnitude, if ſhe ever thought any better of him. Yet ſhe *ſtill proceeded in the buſineſs* ; ſhe *ſtill encouraged the man to come forward with his accuſations* ; ſhe *ſtill perſiſted in calling for the writings.*

Murray, indeed, muſt have long trafficked in villainy, as he had long maintained a connection, with her, before he could have riſen to ſuch a pitch of familiarity with the evil ſpirit within her; as to *think* of making her ſuch an overture. But he knew her too well, to be afraid of any virtuous reſentment from her. Aſſociates in enormity always pay that compliment to goodneſs, to have the ſtrongeſt contempt for one another. He ſaw her eagerneſs to blaſt the character of Mary. She would comply with any propoſals, however flagitious, that miniſtered to her purpoſes. And her commiſſioners acted nearly, as Murray had required they ſhould act.*

§ II.

* For the intimacy between Elizabeth and Murray, we need only appeal to Fenelon, the French Ambaſſador at her court; who deſcribes her behaviour, when ſhe heard of Murray's ſudden death, about eighteen or nineteen months afterward, " It is almoſt incredible to what exceſs the Queen " of England was tranſported with grief on this occaſion; " ſhe *ſhut herſelf up in her chamber, weeping and lamenting*, ſhe " had loſt *the beſt and moſt ſerviceable friend ſhe had in the* " *world.*

§ II.

THE commiſſioners met Murray and ſome of his party at York, in the month of October following. They then give this account of Murray's proceedings and their own there. "The ſaid "Erle," they ſay, "hath been content PRI-"VATLIE to ſhew us ſuch matter, as they have "to condempne the Queen of Scottes of the mur-"der of her huſband: and ſo they ſent unto us the "Lord of Lethingtoun," &c. "which in PRIVATE "and SECRET conference with us, NOT as "COMMISSIONERS, as they *proteſted*, but for "our better inſtruction, ſhewed unto us ſome "LETTERS."* That the commiſſioners ſhould have

"*world*, for the maintenance of herſelf and realm in quiet; "and ſhe grew ſo *melancholy* upon it, that Leiceſter was "forced to tell her, ſhe did an injury to her dignity in "*ſhewing*, that *ſhe thought her own ſafety and that of her realm* "*depended upon one man alone.*" (Fenelon, Dep. 84, Carte iii, 493.)

* Appendix, No. V. The perſons ſent to ſhew the letters, are ſaid by the commiſſioners to have been "the Lord of "Lethingtoun, James Makgill, and Mr. George Boqwhan-"nan, and *another*, *being a Lord of the Seſſion.*" Appendix, No, v. This laſt, Mr. Goodall affirms to have been "John "Wood." ii. 140. So alſo does Mr. Tytler, 60, edit. 1ſt. and Dr. Stuart, i, 329, edit. in octavo. And both Crawford, 90, edit. 1ſt. and Melvill, 93, repreſent Wood to have been at York with the party. But this is all a miſtake, I apprehend. Wood was at this time agent to Murray in London. There he was ſtationed in the month of June preceding; as Elizabeth mentions him to have been in London on June the 8th, as Murray notes him to be ſtill there on June the 22nd, and

have *ſuffered* any papers, and papers of ſuch a criminating nature, and eſpecially ſuch as went to the very heart and ſoul of their commiſſion, to be brought before them in a *clandeſtine* manner; was a moſt aſtoniſhing act of abſurdity and injuſtice. But Murray had required it before. Elizabeth muſt therefore *have privately commanded it* now. She accordingly, in her immediate reply to this account of their conduct, paſſes not the ſlighteſt cenſure upon ſuch a groſs and palpable violation of decency. She even intimates her approbation of it. "We have of late," ſhe ſays, "receaved your ſeveral letters with "all ſuch other matters contained in ſundry

and as the latter ſays particularly, "we have already ſent," not *by*, as the words ſeem to have been careleſsly read by ſeveral of our writers, but "*unto* our ſervand Mr. Jhone "Wode" the letters. Appendix, No. iii. See alſo Anderſon iv. part 1ſt. 17. And the perſons ſent by Murray to the Engliſh commiſſioners, were undoubtedly the *aſſiſtants* to him and the rebel commiſſioners. Theſe were, as an authentic paper aſſures us, "the Laird of Lethingtoun, James Macgill, Henry "Balnavys, the Laird of Lochlevin, Mr. George Boqwhannan "Mr. David Lyndeſay." Goodall, ii. 109. Wood was no among them. It was alſo one, ſay the commiſſioners above who was "a lord of the ſeſſion." Such was Wood, ſays Mr Tytler, ibid. But if Wood was ever a lord of the ſeſſion, which I doubt, he was not one then, I apprehend. Even if he was he was certainly not a lord of the ſeſſion, and an aſſiſtant to the commiſſioners too. Yet both characters muſt unite in our preſent perſonage. Both actually united in Mr. James Macgill and Mr. Henry Balnavys. Mr. Tytler, 210, allows both to have been lords of ſeſſion. Keith, 375, Jebb. ii. 236 Crawford, 90, and Buchanan, Hiſt. xix. 372, Ruddiman, 1 confirm the point, And therefore Balnavys was the man.

"writings,

"writings, as by your ſaid letters hath been "mentioned," meaning their extracts and accounts of the letters, &c. produced by Murray; "upon conſideration whereof, we have found "ſuch difficulties how to make a certen reſolute "anſwer unto yow, as we are rather moved to "have furder advice of others of our counſell "now abſent, and likewiſe *of you ther*; wherefore "we are deſirous to have ſome underſtanding of "*your opinions*."* And the requiſition of Murray, the conduct of the commiſſioners, and the reply of Elizabeth, are all ſo many rays uniting in one point.

But the commiſſioners go on thus: "We "have noted to your Majeſtie the chiefe and— "ſpeciall points of the ſaid letters, written, as "they ſay, with her own hand, to the intent it "may pleaſe your Majeſtie to conſider of them, "and ſo to judge whether the ſame be ſufficient "to convince [convict] her of the deteſtable "crime of the murder of her huſband, which *in* "*our opinions and conſciences*, if the ſaid letters "be written with her own hand, is very hard to "be avoided."† This extra-judicial judgment of the commiſſioners, ſo contrary to reaſon and common ſenſe, was another particular in Murray's requiſitions. He required it to be done. And it was ACTUALLY DONE. By this means evidences were produced clandeſtinely to the commiſſioners. Theſe were received by them, juſt as if they had been regularly preſented in

* Goodall, ii. 170. † Appendix, No. V.

open

open court. Large accounts are drawn up of them. Larger extracts are made from them. Both are tranſmitted to Elizabeth and her council. The commiſſioners declare openly to both, that they have already prejudged her cauſe. And, all the while, Mary and her commiſſioners are totally ignorant of the whole tranſaction, and are preparing to enter upon a trial, that is in a great meaſure determined againſt them already.*

The only doubt expreſſed by the commiſſioners is this, whether the letters were her own hand-writing. But how did they act upon this, the capital point of the whole? They ſhall tell us themſelves. "Theſe men heare," they ſay, "do conſtantly AF-"FIRM the ſaid letters, which they produce of her "own hand, to be her own hand indede; and do "*offer* to SWEAR and TAKE THEIR OATHS there-"upon."† They never compared the produced writings, that pretended to be of her hand, with any other writings, that were acknowledged to be ſo.

* Mary's commiſſioners, however, came ſoon to know, that "Murray and his party had privily uttered to her Ma-"jeſtie's commiſſioners, *all that they were able to alleadge* "*againſt her.*" (Goodall, ii. 159, 160). But they little ſuſpected all that the commiſſioners had done in the buſineſs. See alſo a note at the end of chap. v. in this volume.

† Appendix, No. v. Dr. Robertſon, with a *ſimplicity* of belief, which is very extraordinary in itſelf, and is peculiarly ſo in a man of his good ſenſe and judiciouſneſs, mentions as one argument againſt Mary, that Murray and his aſſociates affirmed the letters to be genuine. Hiſt. ii. Appendix, Diſſ. 21. So, good St. Francis, when one night he ſpied by accident a man and a woman very immodeſtly employed in a corner, believed them to be engaged in a work of Chriſtian love, and thanked heaven for the ſight.

They

They much leſs called in the commiſſioners of Mary, to aſſiſt them in the collation. They reſted all upon the affirmation of the producers, and upon the credit of their offered oaths. And they were precluded from communicating even the *contents* of them to Mary's commiſſioners, by the artful mode in which they had been exhibited to them, not as commiſſioners, but as private gentlemen.

In ſuch a manner was the firſt part of the trial conducted, with a very near conformity to the original requiſitions of Murray, and to the great diſgrace of Elizabeth and her commiſſioners. Theſe acted in all, no doubt, under the private directions of her. And Murray was only doing in all, what he and ſhe had already concerted ſhould be done. Hence Murray propoſed to put them clandeſtinely in poſſeſſion of his papers. Hence they agreed to peruſe them clandeſtinely. Hence they thought themſelves at liberty as commiſſioners, though they were exhibited to them as private gentlemen, to communicate a long account of them to Elizabeth, but not to give any to Mary. Hence they made large extracts from them, with their own opinions occaſionally intimated as they went along. And hence they ſpoke out their opinion pretty plainly at laſt, upon the whole. "Theſe men," they ſay, "do offer to ſwear and take their oaths "thereupon, *the matteir conteyned in them being "ſuch as could hardly be invented or deviſed by any "other than by herſelfe*, for that they diſcourſe of "ſome things *which were unknowen to anie other "than to herſelf and Bothwell*; and as it is hard to "counterfeit

" counterfeit ſo manie, ſo the matter of them, an
" the *manner how theſe men came by them*, is ſuc
" as it ſeemeth that God, in whoſe ſight murde
" and bludſhed of the innocent is abhommabl
" [abominable], *would not permit the ſame to b*
" *hid or concealed.*" * They thus condemn th
Queen of the murder charged upon her. The
condemn her in a formal diſpatch to Elizabeth
They condemn her upon letters unauthenticate
by the producers, uncollated by themſelves, un-
communicated to her and her commiſſioners
They condemn her upon the *offer* of oaths t
their genuineneſs *from the very producers them-
ſelves.* They condemn her upon certain parti-
culars in them, which they ſay were unknown t
all except her and Bothwell, but which they coul
only have heard to have been ſo *from the ver
producers themſelves.* And they condemn he
upon the manner in which the letters came int
the hands of the producers, which they affirm t
have been a ſignal mark of God's interpoſal t
puniſh murder and bloodſhed in her, but which
they muſt equally have heard *from the very pro-
ducers themſelves.* Such was the aſtoniſhing diſ-
honeſty, with which the commiſſioners acted to-
wards her in this outſet of the buſineſs! Ye
Elizabeth *approved of all.* She liked their pro-
ceedings. She liked them ſo well, that ſhe wanted
to have their further advice upon the ſubject,
and that ſhe continued them as commiſſioner
when ſhe adjourned the trial to London.

* Appendix, No. V.

§ III.

§ III.

THE commiſſioners, however, were not entruſted with *all* the ſchemes of Elizabeth in this matter. They conſiſted of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. Some of theſe were too honourable for ſuch a confidence. But one of them no doubt, and Sir Ralph Sadler aſſuredly,* had his private inſtructions for managing the buſineſs, juſt as it was managed. And when Murray exhibited his papers clandeſtinely to them, he did it, as I have already hinted, merely in a private concert with her and this commiſſioner. He did it, as they tell us themſelves, "to the intent, they [Murray, &c.] wolde know of us, "*how your Majeſtie* underſtanding the ſame, "*wolde judge of the ſufficiencie of the matter*; and "whether, in your Majeſtie's opinion, *the ſame* "*will extend to condempne the Queen of Scottes of* "*the ſaid murder.*"† They accordingly aſk her opinion. "We are," they ſay to her, "moſt

* Buchanan, Hiſt. xix. 372, ſays of Lord Surry and Sir Ralph, "*hic* ab omnis diffidii veneno purus," having no taint of Norfolk's enmity to Murray, "*ille* (ut vulgo creditum eſt) "in partes Havarti proclivis." See alſo Goodall, ii. 171, and 179, and Robertſon, ii. 345, for Sir Ralph. Crawford's Memoirs accordingly ſay, that the commiſſioners had "private "inſtructions" directly "againſt" their publick, p. 91. And we actually find Sir Ralph himſelf, united in a commiſſion with the Earl of Northumberland and Sir James Crofts in 1559, but furniſhed with "*private* inſtructions of importance." Preface, p. xv. to Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.

† Appendix, No. V.

"humblie

" humblie beſeaching your Majeſtie, that it may " pleaſe the ſame to advertiſe us of your opinion " and judgement therein."* But had Elizabeth never ſeen the letters before? She certainly had. Copies of them had been ſent to London by Murray, as I have ſhewn already, above four months before. Theſe Murray had even offered by his addreſs of the 22d of June, to communicate to Elizabeth for the conſideration of the commiſſioners that ſhe *was* to appoint. She did not appoint them till the 20th of September following.† But could Elizabeth refrain all this time from looking into the letters, from feeding her love of ſcandal againſt Mary, and from inſpecting the ground-work of all her future operations againſt her? Certainly ſhe could not. She ſaw the letters. She knew them as well before the commiſſioners imparted their contents to her, as ſhe did afterwards. And ſhe even contrived a method, of COMMUNICATING THE LETTERS TO THEM UNPERCEIVED. Murray had deſired of Elizabeth, to have them laid before her commiſſioners, previouſly to their ſitting in judgment upon them; and to have their private opinion before-hand, concerning their competency or incompetency to prove his allegations. THIS WAS NOW DONE. The papers were *offered* to be laid before them by Murray. The ſecret emiſſary of Elizabeth among them, probably, influenced them to admit

* Appendix, No. V. † Goodall, ii. 97.

the

the offer. The papers were produced. The commiſſioners peruſed, abſtracted, and extracted from them. And they then communicated *their opinions* on the whole to Elizabeth; and through her, no doubt, to Murray.

In this artful manner does Elizabeth appear to have acted towards her own commiſſioners. Her whole life was nothing but one ſcene of artifice and diſhoneſty. Her duplicity upon the preſent occaſion is evidenced, by the requiſitions of Murray at firſt, and by the conduct of her commiſſioners afterwards. Theſe are the two parts of a tally. Who can doubt their relation?

Yet, though the commiſſioners, from the plain influence of ſome emiſſary of Elizabeth's among them, and from the violent force of their own credulity, had acted with a groſs diſhoneſty to Mary; Elizabeth ſaw even from this very diſpatch, that they would not do all which ſhe wanted them to do. Murray had required in addition to all the reſt, and indeed as the grand ſupport of all, that the papers ſhould be admitted for evidences, without any inquiry into their hand-writing. But Elizabeth now found from the complexion of their diſpatches, marked as they ſtrongly were with all the features of a haſty faith, a raſh judgment, and a practiſing inſidiouſneſs, that they would come at laſt to the point, which ſhould have been the firſt in the proceſs of their inquiry. They had begun their accounts of the writings produced, with thoſe proper guards of doubt, "as they ſay,"

and "as it is ſaid." Theſe they had ſometimes dropt, in the intemperate riſing of their ſpirits upon Mary's preſumed guilt. But they had again recurred to them. And they had at laſt concluded their diſpatch, with mentioning the letters to be "written, *as they ſay*, with her "own hand;" and with intimating their opinion of her guilt, "IF the ſaid letters be written "with her own hand."* The next ſtep therefore muſt have been, to have had the letters produced formally before the commiſſioners; and then to have had their authenticity examined. This was what Elizabeth never meant to be done. Yet it muſt immediately be done, if the preſent commiſſioners went on. And Elizabeth, therefore, put an inſtant end to their commiſſion.

This commiſſion had been iſſued at firſt, in order "to pronounce in the cauſe of the mur-"der." The commiſſioners themſelves ſay as much, in a formal anſwer to ſome queſtions aſked by Murray concerning their authority. "They take their commiſſion to be ſo ample," they ſay, "as by the ſame they may well enter "and proceade to that controverſie."† And any one who knows the character of Elizabeth, and conſiders the end of all her proceedings, muſt know that this was the great and ruling object of the whole. Yet into this the commiſſioners never entered. They ſat only ſeven days before their grand diſpatch above. The firſt four of theſe were ſpent in the neceſſary preliminaries

* Appendix, No. v. † Goodall, ii. 131.

of

of the work. On the fifth, being the 8th day of October, the commiſſioners of Mary preſented their complaint againſt her rebels. Murray, inſtead of replying, wanted previouſly to be aſſured, exactly in the ſtyle of his former requiſitions to Elizabeth; "if in this action "they ſhall prove all things directly, wherewith "they may and do burthen the Quene, their "ſovereigne's moder, how they may be aſſured "to be free and without daunger of the ſaid "Quene's diſpleaſure."* The next day, being the 9th of October, they put in ſome queſtions in writing to the ſame purport. Theſe were anſwered inſtantly by the commiſſioners. But Murray was not ſatisfied with their anſwer: He would have one from Elizabeth herſelf. And the writing to Elizabeth, and the waiting for her anſwer, neceſſarily produced a ſuſpenſion of buſineſs for ſome days. *In this ſtate of ſuſpenſion* it was, that Murray offered and proceeded to preſent his papers clandeſtinely to the commiſſioners. The delay, therefore, was created artfully for the purpoſe. On the 9th of October, Murray put in his written queſtions. On the 9th of October, the commiſſioners ſent up to Elizabeth for her anſwers to them. On the 10th, Murray put in that reply to Mary's complaint, which he had deferred before. And, *in the afternoon of that very day*, he communicated his evidences of the murder privately to the commiſſioners.† Theſe

* Goodall, ii. 126.

† Ibid. ii. 108—iii. 123. 126—127. 130—133. 139. and 140.

evidences he had utterly refuſed to produce before. Only the very day before, in his paper of queſtions to the commiſſioners, he had ſaid thus: "The reſolutioun of theſe articlis is ſa neceſſary "for us, and *of ſa great importance*, that we can "*na ways enter to the accuſatioun* or tryal of the "murther, *before* we be *fully anſwerit thairin*."* Yet the very next day, and when all accuſation was formally ſuperſeded for a time, he could privately enter into that accuſation, and even lay his evidences for it privately before them.

This is ſuch a manœuvre in management, as ſhews plainly the public accuſation to have been ſuperſeded, IN ORDER to give room for preferring the private one, to give room for the peruſal of the papers by the commiſſioners, to give room for tranſmitting an account of them to Elizabeth, to give room for Elizabeth to ſee their opinions concerning them, to view the impreſſions which theſe had made upon them, and to obſerve whether they would go all the lengths, which it was requiſite for her purpoſes they ſhould go. She found upon the trial they would not. She therefore made no reply to Murray's doubts. Theſe wanted no reſolution at preſent. The diſpatch concerning them muſt have reached her, *two days* before the other concerning the letters. Yet ſhe wrote no anſwer to it. This appeared ſtrange at the very time. "Becauſe I am advertiſed from "York," ſays Sir Francis Knollys, "that hyr "Majeſtie *doth hetherto ſtay* the anſwering of the

* Goodall, i. 131.

"artykles

" artykles of my lord of Murraye and his partie, " therefore," &c.* Theſe preſſed for an immediate anſwer. The whole buſineſs of the *accuſation* was prevented from *beginning* to move. And had ſhe not been in the ſecret of Murray's management, ſhe muſt have anſwered them immediately. But, by being in the ſecret, ſhe knew no anſwer was required. She expected another diſpatch with an account of the letters. It arrived. It was very much what ſhe wiſhed. But it was not all that ſhe wanted. She was, ſays the ſagacious author of the memoirs publiſhed by Crawford, in expreſs terms, " but indifferently " pleaſed with what had paſt."† And for this reaſon, though the commiſſioners were yet only at the very entrance of the buſineſs, though they had yet received only one paper from each ſide, and though theſe could neceſſarily be only formal and general, the mere ground-work of their future proceedings; ſhe diſſolved their commiſſion at once.

She could not have received their diſpatch concerning the letters, before the 14th or 15th of October; and on the 16th ſhe ſent word of her intention, to break up the commiſſion directly.‡ She broke it up accordingly. She iſſued out a new commiſſion. To the former three ſhe ADDED FIVE OTHERS, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Earls of Arundel and Leiceſter, Lord Clinton, and Sir William Cecil. She did this, ſay the cotemporary memoirs of Crawford, " be-

* Goodall, ii. 160. † P. 112.
‡ Goodall, ii. 134, 139, and 170.

"cauſe ſhe had ſuſpected Norfolk, and would "balance his intereſt;" becauſe ſhe would balance his own voice, and his influence over his relation the Earl of Suſſex in his. And ſhe ordered them to ſit, not at York, but at WESTMINSTER; that they might be more immediately under her own inſpection and influence.*

§ IV.

THE commiſſioners met accordingly at Weſtminſter, in the end of November following. There the firſt act of buſineſs done by them, was to reſolve the doubts of Murray. To theſe the commiſſioners at York had thus replied before; that, "as her Majeſtie wold not thinke her "[Mary] worthie of a kingdom, if ſhe weare "convinced [convicted] of that horrible crime," of murder, "ſo wold [ſhe] not ſeke to reſtore "her to a kingdome."† But Murray would not be ſatisfied with this. He had riſen in his demands ſince the original ſtipulation. In proportion as he ſaw her eagerneſs to blaſt the character of Mary, he drew back from the work, in order to enhance the value of it. He would now have more than he originally required, before he gratified Elizabeth with a public accuſation. And Elizabeth, with all her addreſs, was made by her reſentments a mere inſtrument of policy in his hands. He dictated the terms on which he would accuſe. He preſcribed the man-

* Goodall, ii. 189—191; Crawford, 112; and Buchanan, Hiſt. xix. 372.

† Goodall, ii. 131—132.

ner

ner in which his accuſation ſhould be received. *He* had the ſupport of his uſurpation in view. *She* had the full indulgence of her reſentments. Her regard for theſe was more violent, than even his zeal for that. And, in conſequence of this, Elizabeth became a mere puppet dancing upon this Scotchman's wires. He was accordingly gratified in his requiſitions to the full. But the commiſſioners, before they delivered the anſwer of Elizabeth to him, entered this *very neceſſary* precaution: "That Elizabeth meaneth not, nor "will, that any perſon do thereof interprete, that "thereby the ſaid Erle of Murray, or any with "him, ſhould be *boldened*, *moved*, or *any wiſe* "*comforted*, to enter into accuſation of the ſaid "Quene [Mary], for any crime or ſuſpicion of "crime."* They then told him, as from Elizabeth, thus: "If the Quene of Scotts ſall be "juſtly proved and found guilty of the murder "of hir huſband, *ſhe ſall be ether delivered into* "*your hands*, upon good and ſufficient ſureties "and aſſurances for the ſafety of her life and "good uſage of her, or elſe ſhe ſall continew "*keept* in England, upon the reaſonable charges "of the crown of Scotland, *in ſuch ſort* as nether "the prince her ſon, nor you the Erle of Murray, "nor any other, for holding part or maintaining "the ſaid prince, *ſhall be in any danger by her li-* "*berty*."† Thus

* Goodall, ii. 200.

† Ibid. 201. What the "good and ſufficient ſureties of "and aſſurances for the ſafety of her life and good uſage of "her,"

Thus ſupported by the aſſurances of Elizab
not only *not* to reſtore Mary if ſhe was fo
guilty, as ſhe had ſolemnly and uncondition
promiſed Mary ſhe would do; but even to k
under perpetual captivity in England, or to g
up to her bloody and murderous enemies in Sc
land, the very Queen whom ſhe had ſolem
promiſed to reſtore to her throne: and thus
encouraged by the prejudgment, which had alre
been made by the original commiſſioners c
examining the papers: Murray was now ready
come forward with them publickly. But
muſt previouſly enter a proteſtation, he thoug
fit entered one accordingly, on the 26th of
October. In this, he aſſerted himſelf and
party to have given "ſufficient teſtimony to
"world, how UNWILLING THEY HAD ALL
"ANES to twiche the King our Soveraigne L
"as tender in honour, or to publiſh unto fr
"ane matteris tending to her perpetual
"infamy." He alſo averred, "that RATH
"than *ſuffer her honeſtie with the ſociety of ther*
"*traitorial murder*, they were content to ſuff
"the ſhrewd reports of the world, quha blam
"them for traitoris and rebellis." The wo
it ſeems, was compoſed of *ſtark ſcurrilitie*, a
could call a ſpade a ſpade. But "it had b
"eany for them," he ſaid, "to have wy
"away thir [theſe] and the like to ane uthers w
"a few wordis, *gif* they would have vtter

"her," actually terminated in the [illegible] made any
in a curious diſpatch called our [illegible] by Mr. Ty
345—352. Edit. 3d.

"[illegible]

"matter, QUHILK THEY KEPT IN STORE FOR "THE LATER CAST." He even added, that they had ſo far "reſpect" for Mary, "zea ſa "far, gif that with the *perpetual exile* of any *ane* "of them, or zit of a *number*, *they might redeme* "*hir honour*, without danger of the King their "Soveraign's perſoun and haill ſtate, *they wald* "*willingly baniſhe themſelf to that end.*" And for this reaſon, "before they enter farther in the "ground of this matter, WHICH TO THIS HOUR "THEY HAD FLED, they *proteſt ſolemnelie*, that "they have na delyte to ſee hir diſhonourit, but "that they are thairto *enforcit* be hir awin preſ- "ſing, and their adverſaries, quha compellis them "to UTTER that moſt odious matter, by "preſſing them to cum to that anſwer, quhilk "they knew they had juſt caus to mak, and *will* "*mak in the end.*"* This proteſtation was a moſt extraordinary act of formality in Murray. An habitual hypocriſy frequently betrays itſelf, by exerciſing its powers when they are totally unneceſſary, by a wanton diſplay of its deceptions, and by an impertinent affectation of ſcrupuloſity. This was ſtrikingly the caſe here. A proteſtation of ſuch a nature as this, ſo ſolemnly falſe, and *known to be ſo by the very perſons to whom it was made*, could have ſerved no purpoſe whatever. It muſt even have hurt the cauſe, which it was intended to promote. It muſt have convinced the commiſſioners, that Murray and his friends were a ſet of abandoned wretches,

* Goodall, ii. 203—206.

who were ready to give the ſanction of their ſolemneſt aſſertions to the groſſeſt falſehoods, and who were even ſo habituated to lying, as to lie confidently where truth would have anſwered as well. Theſe very evidences, which Murray here ſo unneceſſarily and *ſolemnly* affirms to have been "kept in ſtore for the later caſt," and, "to this hour to have been fled" by him, had been communicated by him to his own privy council and his own parliament in the month of December before;* had been even acknowledged by himſelf in ſome private converſation with the Duke of Norfolk at York, to have been ſhewn in parliament, and "ſeen to many" there;† had actually been proclaimed to have been ſo, in ſuch a public and formal book as his own STATUTES, printed the very April afterwards;‡ had been even communicated by him to Elizabeth, in the month of June ſucceeding; and had been at laſt communicated by him to the commiſſioners, in the month of October following. Theſe had even drawn up a long account of them, and had even made large extracts from them, for the uſe of Elizabeth. And both had been laid before her privy council,§ even before the Lord Keeper Bacon, the Earl of Leiceſter, the Lord Admiral Clinton, and Sir William Cecil, among others.‖ The old commiſſioners at York, therefore, and four out of the five new commiſſioners, muſt have known the ſolemn proteſtation, at the moment it was put in, to be notoriouſly falſe,

* Goodall, ii. 64 and 67.
† Robertſon, ii. 397.
‡ Goodall, Introd. i. 23.
§ Ibid. ii. 170.
‖ Ibid. 179.

Murray

Murray alſo muſt know that the commiſſioners muſt. Yet he ſtill preſented it. There is a point of profligacy in the line of human impudence, at which the moſt diſguiſed heart ſeems to loſe all ſenſibility of ſhame, and the moſt deſigning mind ſeems to deprive itſelf of all poſſibility of cheating.

Murray had even made uſe of the ſame kind of proteſtation BEFORE, though not with the ſame formality of hypocriſy, when he put the letters into the hands of the commiſſioners at YORK. He and his partiſans *then* too were "loothe to "proceade ſo far as to charge the Kinge their "Sovereigne's mother, with ſuche things as "*hitherto* they have been content rather to *hide* "and *conceale*, than to publiſh and manifeſt to the "worlde to her infamie and diſhonour, in re-"ſpect that ſhe was the Kinge their Sovereigne's "mother."* Yet they *did* "publiſh and mani-"feſt" to the commiſſioners the proofs of "her "infamie and diſhonour." But they alſo made the ſame ſort of proteſtation BEFORE THIS, even when they *firſt* produced the letters. "Revel-"ing of the trewth," they ſay in their privy council, on the 4th of December, 1567, "and "ground of the haill matter fra the beginning "plainlie and uprichtlie, (in ſa far as the mani-"feſtation theirof maie tend to the diſhonor or "diſeſtimation of the Quene) *they air maiſt laith* "*to entre in* for that luif they beare unto hir "perſon,—and for the reverence of his Majeſtie,

* Goodall, ii. 136.

"whais

"whais moder ſhe is." * And ſtill they *did* enter into it. On the 4th of December, 1567, they were loth to make a diſcloſure of the letters, becauſe of the infamy which it would throw upon the Queen. They make it, however, in privy council. They make it in parliament, a few days afterwards. But in the October following they take up the ſame cant of candour, as if they had done neither; and yet do it a third time. And then, in the November following, they take up the ſame cant again, as if they had never done at all what they had now done no leſs than three times before; and repeat it again for the fourth time. Never, never, I hope, for the honour of human nature, did hypocriſy before or ſince draw ſo long and ſo large a train of impoſture after it, as it here does.

But Murray ſtood not alone in the infamy of lying, at this ſtage of the buſineſs. Elizabeth was his rival in this and in all flagitiouſneſs. It is mournfully curious indeed to obſerve, what a ready recourſe the generality of men and women have to lying. A lie is conſidered by them as a kind auxiliary, ever willing to come at the call, and to fight their battles for them. But women, I ſpeak it with great reſpect for the ſex, are ordinarily more apt to take refuge in lies than men. Bred up in ſome neceſſary habits of diſſimulation; and urged by the ſenſe of their weakneſs, to make up in cunning what they want in ſtrength; they are certainly more prone to the

* Goodall, ii. 63.

little arts of evaſion than men. Yet ſtill the well-educated and the well-principled part of that ſex, is to the full as much ſuperior to theſe arts, as the ſame part of our own. And for bold and impudent untruths, for lies told with grave deliberation, vouched with cool confidence, and ſupported by the reſpect due to authority; for theſe daring flights of falſehood, their natural delicacy of temper, which keeps them from ſo many improprieties in life, keeps them alſo from this. Such flights are reſerved for the ſtronger wings of men. They are too maſculine exerciſes in profligacy, to ſuit even the profligate of womankind. Elizabeth, however, was profligate enough for them. She had the impudence of the worſt of our ſex, ſuperadded to the evaſiveneſs of the worſt of her own. She therefore loved to try her ſtrength, in this maſculine exerciſe of profligacy. She peculiarly did ſo, on the preſent occaſion. And at the commencement of the ſecond conference, and on the 4th of December, ſhe told the commiſſioners of Mary thus; Murray, immediately after his proteſtation, having adduced his charge of murder againſt Mary.* Concerning this charge from the party, ſhe ſaid, I cannot ſuffer Mary "to cum hier to my pre-"ſence, *unto* [until] *the time I may underſtand,* "HOW THAY WILL PRUIFF, and QUHAT THAY "HAVE FOR THAME TO VERTFIE THEIR AN-"SWER;" and "thairfoir I will ſend for thame, "and ENQUYRE THAME thairof; for I think it

* Goodall, ii. 206—207.

"verie

"verie reſſonabill that," &c. "but to de-
"termine any time *before* I underſtand HOW
"THAY WILL VERTFIE THAIR ALLEGATIOUN, I
"am not as zit reſolvit." To this the commiſ-
ſioners anſwered. And Elizabeth replied thus:
"for the MAIR ſatisfactioun of HIRSELF, and for
"thair miſtreſs's weill, ſhe WALD KNOW QUHAT
"THAY HAD to propone ſic thing contrair [to]
"thair Soverane, and HOW THAY MICHT PRUIF
"THE SAMIN." *

The reader, who remembers the account that I have already given of the evidences againſt Mary, will be amazed at theſe declarations from the lips of Elizabeth. She had ſeen the letters in June preceding. She had received a long account of them, and large extracts from them, in October afterwards. She muſt therefore have known them thoroughly at preſent. Yet ſhe now ſteps forward with all the confidence of truth, to tell the commiſſioners of Mary, That ſhe does *not* know any thing concerning them. She does not yet underſtand, ſhe affirms, *how* they mean to prove their preferred accuſation, or *what* evidences they deſign to produce. This is ſuch an abſolute falſehood, told ſo deliberately, told ſo repeatedly, told ſo ſolemnly, that one wonders how the duplicity of *any* woman, or the effrontery of *any* man, even when united together, could ever be great enough to ſpeak it.

* Goodall, ii. 222.

But

But the hardineſs of lying in Elizabeth, appears much ſtronger from the conſideration, that ſhe ſo formally ſpoke this ſtriking falſehood *in the preſence of thoſe very nobles* who *knew it to be falſe.* She ſpoke it in the preſence of that very Duke of Norfolk, that very Earl of Suſſex, and that very Sir Ralph Sadler, who had ſent her the long account, and made the large extracts for her. She alſo ſpoke it in the preſence of that very Lord Keeper, that very Lord Steward, that very Lord Admiral, that very Lord Chamberlain, and that very Earl of Leiceſter and Sir William Cecil, who were then the privy council attending upon her, and to whom ſhe then communicated that account and thoſe extracts.* In the hearing of all theſe, who all knew what ſhe ſaid to be falſe, *and whom ſhe alſo knew to know it,* did Elizabeth aſſert this groſs and palpable falſehood; aſſert it with the authority of majeſty, aſſert it in the preſence of her privy council, and aſſert it to the embaſſadors of a crowned head. So exceedingly alike in artifice and in lying, were Elizabeth and Murray! So very difficult is it to ſay on the compariſon, whether the *man* or the *woman* was the moſt impudent liar! And to ſuch an aſtoniſhing height in the ſcale even of *vulgar* effrontery, did the ſpirits of them both very readily mount up, on the ſlighteſt occaſion that offered!

But, on Murray's preſenting his charge to the commiſſioners of Elizabeth, Mary's immediately

* Goodall, ii. 221, 179, 170, and 223.

required,

required, that their miſtreſs ſhould be permitted to come up to London from her confinement in the country, and to appear before Elizabeth, "hir haill nobilitie, and als [alſo] in preſence of "the ambaſſadoars of forraign countries, for mair "trew declaratioun of hir innocence, and ſatis-"factioun of the Quenis Majeſtie of this realme, "hir nobilitie, and all Chriſtiane princes."* This was ſuch a requiſition, ſo proper, bold, and challenging, that juſtice could never refuſe, and honour could never delay, to grant it. Yet Elizabeth delayed, and Elizabeth refuſed. She begged the interval of a day to conſider of it.† She then would *not* grant of it. "Quhair ze "deſire," ſhe ſays, "that zour Soverane ſald "cum to my preſence, it may not weil ſtand "with hir honour, nor zit with myne, that ſcho "ſhould be travellit to com hier to my preſence, "unto the time I may underſtand how thay will "pruiff," &c.‡ She *already* knew how they meant to prove their charge. She had even ſeen their proofs. This, therefore, was only a pretence for a refuſal. Yet, as Elizabeth adds, "I "think it verie reſſonabill that ſcho ſuld be heard "in her awin caus, being ſo weightie; but to de-"termine quhom befoir, quhen and quhair, ony "time *before* I underſtand how thay will verifie "their allegatioun, I am not as zit reſolvit."§

* Goodall, ii. 217—218 and 220.
† Ibid. 221.
‡ Ibid. 221—222.
§ Ibid. 222.

Thus did Elizabeth ſtill continue to found her denial of juſtice, upon the ground of a known falſehood. But ſhe muſt have been particularly averſe to the propoſition, of hearing Mary in her own defence before all the nobility of England, and before all the embaſſadors of foreign powers. Their preſence would be an inſurmountable bar to her deſigns. Nor did ſhe even chooſe to hear Mary at all. She rather choſe to keep her at a diſtance, while her *more honourable* rebels were allowed a free acceſs to the court, to break down her ſpirits by confinement, to tarniſh her reputation by invited charges, and to be at once her betrayer, her accuſer, and her judge. Nothing leſs than this could have ſuited the purpoſes of Elizabeth. Yet even *ſhe* could not *poſitively* refuſe ſuch a requeſt. She owned it to be "a "verie reſſonabill" one.* She promiſed to grant it hereafter. But ſhe *muſt firſt hear the evidences of the accuſation againſt her.* Why muſt ſhe? She *choſe it.* "Stat pro ratione voluntas." Yet had ſhe *not* heard them before? She certainly had. She had even *ſeen* them.

Did Elizabeth, however, hear Mary *afterwards* in her own defence, before the nobility and embaſſadors? No! Did ſhe *afterwards* hear her, before any ſelected number of her own obedient miniſters in privy council? No! Did ſhe *afterwards* hear her, before any other perſons? No! *She never heard her at all.* When ſhe was *ac-*

* Yet Mr. Hume, *more bigotted to Elizabeth's ſchemes than Elizabeth herſelf*, pronounces it *un*reaſonable. Hiſt. v. 143. Edit. 1767.

cuſed, ſhe would not admit her to her preſence, *till* ſhe had ſeen the evidences of the accuſation, which indeed ſhe had already ſeen before. And when ſhe *had* ſeen them again, then, then Mary was *unworthy* to be admitted into her preſence. This is ſuch a ſtrain of ſhuffling and deceit, as muſt amaze a man of honour to hear of. Yet it is very true. " As for her coming to hir pre-
" ſence," Elizabeth *then* ſaid, " conſidering at
" the firſt when ſhe came into this realme, hir
" Majeſty could not fynd it THAN agreeable
" to her honor,——being defamed only by com-
" mon report; *much leſs could ſhe* NOW *think*
" *it either mete or honourable for hir to come to hir*
" *preſence*, conſidering the multitude of matters
" and preſumptions *now lately* produced againſt
" hir, ſuch as indede greved hir Majeſty to
" think of."* Elizabeth, on the 4th of December, thought it very reaſonable, ſhe ſhould be heard in her own defence. Elizabeth, on the 16th of the ſame month, thought it very unreaſonable. She had conſidered, that ſhe would not admit her into her preſence when ſhe *firſt* came to England, and when ſhe was accuſed only by common report. But ſhe had forgotten, that even *then* Mary had been accuſed by much more than common report, even in form before Murray's privy council and Murray's parliament. She had alſo forgotten, that *ſince* her coming into England, even ſince ſhe had been accuſed in form *again* before the commiſſioners, ſhe had thought

* Goodall, ii. 264.

it very reaſonable ſhe ſhould be admitted. And ſhe now pretended to grieve over the evidences produced: when ſhe had ſaid after ſhe had ſeen them, that ſhe did not believe the accuſation grounded upon them; and when ſhe had peculiarly cauſed them to be produced, at preſent. *

This is ſuch a frightful picture of hypocriſy, that it hurts my honeſt feelings, even to hold it up to the publick. It is ſo dreadfully finiſhed

* Goodall, ii. 221, "I culd nevir beleive, nor zit will, "that evir ſcho did conſent thairto." "Fenelon's diſpatches," ſays Mr. Carte, iii. 477, "for ſome months are filled with "the repeated profeſſions of the Queen of England [Depeche "Jan. 20] that *ſhe did not believe any part of what was al-* "*ledged againſt her good ſiſter.*" Camden alſo ſays of Elizabeth, that "for the letters" &c. ſhe "gave little credit to "them, though there were between them a womaniſh emula- "tion," &c. Tranſ. 117, Orig. 144—145. Melvill adds, that "ſhe was glad of the Queen's diſhonour, but in her "mind *ſhe deteſted the Regent and all his company, and would* "*notice him no more*," 97. And Crawford's Memoirs ſubjoin to the whole, that the calumnies "found but *little credit* with "the Queen of England, or her commiſſioners," that particularly "ſhe was too wiſe not to look upon him," Murray, "*as the worſt of men*, who at once defamed his ſiſter, his "Queen, the mother of his Prince, and *one whom in his con-* "*ſcience he could not but believe innocent*," and that "indeed, as "the *effect* of that reflection, *he met with no more than indifferent* "*entertainment* at the court of England, and might have found "by experience, that though princes for intereſt may ſometimes "*love the treaſon*, yet they always *hate the traitor.*" (114—115.) It is curious to ſee Elizabeth, who knew all the plot ſo well, *intus et in cute novit*, openly avowing her diſbelief in it; and ſucceeding times believing it all, from ignorance and from faction.

in every part, that we can ſee nothing but one uniform view of hypocriſy on every ſide. Every turn of countenance in the figures, every movement of the body in them, the whole of their drapery and diſpoſition, all beſpeak the fouleſt hypocriſy. Yet this is only the fore-ground of the piece. We have ſtill more behind.

On Mary's commiſſioners requiring permiſſion for Mary to come up and defend herſelf, Elizabeth thought it expedient to preſent another ſcene of equivocation to the world. "As "for the Quene coming in perſon to her Ma- "jeſtie," ſhe ſaid,—"ſhe concluded it to be "beſt for the ſaid Quene, that the ſaid accuſers "ſhould be ROUNDLY CHARGED AND REPROV- "ED HEREIN."* She meant, ſhe added, "to "charge the Earl of Murray, as reaſon was, "and to REPREHEND AND IMPUGN THE ACCU- "SATION BY ALL GOOD MEANS, in THE FAVOUR "OF THE SAID QUENE OF SCOTTES." † So ſhe promiſed. But how did ſhe act? *Did* ſhe "roundly charge and reprove" Murray and his accomplices? *Did* ſhe "reprehend and impugn "the accuſation" which they had juſt produced? And *did* ſhe exert "all good means in favour of "the ſaid Quene of Scottes?" Let the ſequel tell, ſo truly characteriſtick of her general duplicity.

Three days after her promiſe, on the 7th of December,‡ the commiſſioners of Elizabeth

* Goodall, ii. 226. † Ibid. 227.

‡ The date in ibid. 231, Dec. 6, is an error of the pen or preſs; as is plain from 227 and 235.

called

called Murray and his colleagues before them, and addreſſed them in theſe words: "My Lords, "the Quene's Majeſtie hath commanded us "to ſay unto you, that her Highneſs thinketh "[it] very much and very ſtrange, that you "ſhould accuſe her [Mary] of ſo horrible a "cryme." * This was the ſubſtantial part of their chiding addreſs. This was what Elizabeth pretended to call "a round charging "and reproof." This was what Elizabeth termed "a reprehending and impugning the "accuſation by all good means." The promiſe and the performance are juſt as much alike, we ſee, as a ſtorm in nature and a ſtorm in the playhouſe are.

But the commiſſioners did not end here. Her Majeſty, they add, "therfore hath called "us to ſay unto you, that although you, in this "doing, have forgot your duties of allegiance "toward your ſoveraine, yet her Majeſtie meaneth "not to forget THE LOVE OF A GOOD SISTER, "AND OF A GOOD NEIGHBOUR AND FRIEND."† Elizabeth, then, is determined at laſt to diſcharge the duties of a good neighbour, a real friend, and a loving ſiſter to Mary. She has ſtrangely "paltered" with her promiſe indeed, in the reproof before. But ſhe will *now* ſerve her. Yet how *does* ſhe ſerve her? The very next words of the commiſſioners will ſhew the kindneſs intended. And the fact immediately ſubſequent will ſhew the kindneſs performed.

* Goodall, ii. 233. † Ibid. ibid.

"What you are to anſwer to this," ſay the commiſſioners, "we are here ready to hear." But why was an anſwer expected? According to Elizabeth's promiſe, the rebels were to be ſharply rebuked for their preſumption in thinking to accuſe Mary of murder. To this no anſwer was requiſite. They *had* accuſed. This was their *offence*. *For* this they were to receive a ſevere reprimand. And the accuſation was thus to be "impugned" by every honeſt exertion of friendſhip in Elizabeth. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the rebels are *called upon* to *anſwer*. They are called upon, IN ORDER to bring forward the concerted reply, and to conclude the whole in a manner directly the reverſe of Elizabeth's ſeeming intentions.

Thus are the commiſſioners, with principles of honour all alive and active in the breaſts of ſome of them, made to become mere *gentlemen-uſhers* to her hypocriſy, and mere *running-footmen* to her revenge. Their ſouls muſt have been ſhocked with the employ. But they were obliged to ſubmit to it. The bold barons, that had ſo often aſſaulted the throne even of our warlike monarchs, all crouched at the feet of this Henry the Eighth in petticoats. And they were mean enough to carry on an *evident* ſcheme of colluſion betwixt her and Murray. They *therefore* gave the rebuke in ſuch gentle terms, ſo contrary to what they themſelves had ſome of them heard her promiſe.* They *therefore*

* Goodall, ii. 223.

called

called alſo upon the rebels to reply, when all reply was precluded by the *apparent* nature of the buſineſs. But the *real* was very different.

Murray accordingly came prepared for the latter. He knew the farcical operations, in which theſe mere ſhifters of the ſcenes to him and to her were now to be engaged. He heard them calmly. He replied. He expreſſed his ſorrow for having offended Elizabeth by his accuſation of Mary. But to "ſatisfie" her, he would—he would do what? He would retract the accuſation, to be ſure, for which he "found" Elizabeth, as he ſays himſelf, "to be *grievouſly offended*" with him.* And thus Elizabeth will at laſt have "impugned the accuſation by all "good means, in favour of the ſaid Queen of "Scots." This undoubtedly was the natural proceſs in the buſineſs. But there was nothing *natural* in the whole. It was merely *an acted drama* from the beginning to the end of it. Murray, therefore, in order to "ſatisfy" Elizabeth for the "grievous offence" given, would *repeat* it, would *aggravate* it *highly*. He *would proceed to prove what he had charged.*

This was plainly the point, to which Elizabeth and Murray had been mutually tending by all theſe ſide-movements. Murray *had actually brought his proofs with him.* The commiſſioners *were actually ready to receive them.* They had indeed *called for them*, in calling for a reply to

* Goodall, ii. 234.

their rebuke. And thus the "round charge and reproof," which Elizabeth threatened to give Mary's accuſers; the "reprehending and im-"pugning the accuſation by all good means in "her favour," which Elizabeth promiſed to Mary's commiſſioners; and "the love of a good "ſiſter, and of a good neighbour and friend," which Elizabeth the moment before declared by her own commiſſioners, ſhe "meaned not to forget" to Mary; all terminated in making the accuſation to be maintained againſt her, and in encouraging the evidences to be produced for it.

§ v.

ALL this was a very proper prelude to the ſecond appearance of the letters. They appeared the next day. But what could be expected in fairneſs or in decency, as to the examination of them; from a woman ſo apparently hypocritical and baſe, as Elizabeth is here ſhewn to be by her own proceedings; and from men ſo apparently mean and ſervile, as the commiſſioners are equally ſhewn to be from theirs? The conduct of both we muſt naturally expect to proceed in the ſame ſtrain. It cannot well exceed the other. And yet, I think, it did.

"This daye," ſay the commiſſioners on the 8th of December, "the Earle of Murray, accord-"ing to the appoyntment yeſterday, came to the "Quene's Majeſtie's commiſſioners, ſaying, That "as they had yeſternight produced and ſhewed "ſundry wrytings," &c. "ſo for the further "ſatisfaction, both of the Quene's Majeſtie and "theyr

"theyr lordſhips, they were ready to produce "and ſhew a great number of letters wrytten by "the ſaid Quene, wherin, as they ſaid, might "appear very evidently her inordinate love "towards the ſaid Erle Bothwell, with ſundry "other arguments of her guiltyneſs of the mur- "der of her huſband. And ſo therupon they "produced ſeveral wrytings wrytten in the like "Romain hand, as others her letters which were "ſhewed yeſternight, and avowed by them to be "wrytten by the ſaid Quene."* This is the account, we muſt remember, given by the commiſſioners themſelves, concerning their own proceedings. We cannot deſire a better authority for cenſuring them. And they cannot aſk a better teſtimony in their own vindication.

Yet what does their account ſay, for vindication or for cenſure? It ſays this. The commiſſioners at York, on the previous production of the letters, had reſted their authenticity on the credit of the offered oaths of the producers. The commiſſioners at Weſtminſter were more attentive to the rules of common ſenſe and common honeſty. They *compared them with other writings*. They found them, on examination, to be "wrytten in the like Romain hand as "others which were ſhewed yeſternight." And ſo far they acted with apparent juſtneſs. But this was in appearance only. In reality they acted as unjuſtly and as abſurdly, as the commiſſioners at York. Yet they conducted themſelves

* Appendix, No. viii.

with

with more addreſs. They were more cunning and more knaviſh. The addition of five to the former three, had given a ſtrong predominancy to the ſpirit of Elizabeth and of villainy among them. The majority of the three were honeſt in intention, and were weak in practice. The majority of the eight were actually knaves in deſign, actually knaves in practice, but ſtudiouſly courting the ſemblance of honeſty. They therefore pretended to do, what the others had not done; and to examine the grand point on which the whole accuſation reſted, the hand-writing of the letters. But *how* did they examine it? In a manner that muſt have pronounced them to be IDIOTS, if we had not known them to be otherwiſe; in a manner that muſt pronounce them to be KNAVES, as we know them to have been men of ſenſe. Like perſons totally incompetent to the management of buſineſs, but in truth acting miniſterially in a work of profligacy; they compared the letters produced, NOT with letters furniſhed by Mary's commiſſioners, NOT with letters even furniſhed by any indifferent perſons, BUT with letters *preſented by the producers themſelves*. They collated them with "OTHERS HER "LETTERS WHICH WERE SHEWED YESTER-"NIGHT," (for "THEY had yeſternight pro-"duced and ſhewed ſundry wrytings") "and "avowed by THEM to be wrytten by the ſaid "Quene." And they thus collated one forgery with another.

This is ſuch an inſtance of impoſition upon Mary and the world, as can ſcarcely be paralleled in all the

the annals of knavery. Many, many inſtances of impoſition, indeed, occur in the wretched hiſtory of our race. But we can hardly find one, in which the impoſition was ſo groſs, ſo formal, ſo important, and ſo clear. It was very groſs, becauſe it has not a ſhred of artifice to cover its ugly nakedneſs. It was very formal, becauſe it was done by men, ſome of whom were of the firſt character in their country, and all of whom were bound by honour, and were tied down by oaths, to act uprightly in the buſineſs. It was very important, becauſe no leſs than the reputation of a Queen, and the continuance of an uſurpation, depended upon it. And it is very clear, becauſe we have the fact related to us by the commiſſioners themſelves, recorded to their ſhame in their own journal, and tranſmitted by their own hands to poſterity, with everlaſting infamy on their heads.*

* How fully does all this conduct ſhew, what Mary intimated afterwards in an intercepted letter to ſome of her partiſans in Scotland! "The Quene of Ingland," ſhe ſays, at the removal of the conference to Weſtminſter, "namit *new* "*commiſſionaris* with thame that wer alreddie depute, in "nombre of the quhilk *the ſaid tratour*," Cecil, "and "UTHERIS OF HIS FACTIOUN." Goodall, ii. 326.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

§ 1.

IT is very ſurpriſing, that at this diſtance of time we can trace the conduct of Elizabeth ſo particularly, through all the mazes and labyrinths of her cunning. No cotemporary hiſtorian has been kind enough to lend us a clue for them; though memory muſt have ſupplied a variety of incidents at the time, which would have thrown a ſtrong light over the whole. But we are left to collect the general aſpect of the tranſactions, from the very journals of the perſons who are acting with ſo much artfulneſs. That ſpirit of deception, which put them upon acting with the artfulneſs, would equally put them upon modelling the accounts of their actions. It would naturally put them upon ſoftening the harſher features, and upon lowering the more prominent parts, of their own iniquity. Accordingly we find the journal of the commiſſioners, to have been actually ALTERED and INTERLINED by the hand of Secretary CECIL himſelf, after it had been written by the clerks of the commiſſion.* And we muſt therefore ſuppoſe the ſame hand to have been buſy, where it is *not* viſible; and to have fre-

* Goodall, ii. 223, 239, &c.

quently

quently written the original journal, by the pens of the clerks themſelves.*

Surrounded as we thus are by artifice and impoſture on every ſide, if in our progreſs we ſhould meet with any account, that gives a look of fairneſs and juſtice to Elizabeth, we cannot but ſuſpect it of being ſophiſticated in this manner. We cannot but think, that the ſecretary has been at work again; has ſuppreſſed ſome circumſtance, which would have lent a different appearance to the whole; or has mentioned ſome with a variation from the truth, which caſts a different air over it. With ſuch conduct preceding, as we have juſt ſeen in Elizabeth, we have no right to expect any fairneſs or juſtice from her. With ſuch conduct ſucceeding, as we ſhall ſoon ſee in Elizabeth, we have no reaſon to believe any thing but unfairneſs and injuſtice to have come between. Sudden converſions may ſuit the ſhort and deſultory progreſs of a novel or a play. But they are little compatible with the ſlow and regular operations of the human mind. And relapſes, as ſudden as the converſions, plainly prove the latter to have been nothing at all.

To ſuch an account as this are we now come. For Elizabeth, wanting to veil over the ſhameleſs management of her own commiſſioners, even acting under her own influence, ordered a re-collation of the letters; and a re-collation, not

* Accordingly, Mary ſays, in Goodall, ii. 326, that Cecil "dois all thair drauchtis."

before

before the commiſſioners, but before the privy council. This was by implication a ſtrong cenſure upon the commiſſioners. It intimated in a very ſtriking manner, that they had not done juſtice in *their* collation, that they had done what required to be re-done, and that they had done what wanted to be covered and diſguiſed by a ſubſequent act of a privy council. The latter was therefore to intrude violently into a buſineſs, with which they had no concern. It was all delegated to the commiſſioners before. It had been executed by them in the main part of it. Yet this very part was the privy council now to take to itſelf. It was to ſupercede the whole delegation for a time. And it was to execute the main part again. But all the wheels in the machine of Elizabeth's government, moved on in perfect harmony. The grand maſter-wheel in herſelf regulated all their motions. And this very council conſiſted of the eight commiſſioners themſelves, and others.* Some of the commiſſioners moſt probably, as we know ſome of them to have been of honour; and the Duke of Norfolk pretty certainly, as one of them;† had begun to expreſs their diſguſt at the infamous collation before, which had been managed by a junto of Elizabeth's more ſtaunch partiſans among them, and ſo forced upon the reſt. The apparent knavery of it muſt naturally have excited their reſentment. They began probably to conſider themſelves in their true light, as

* Goodall, ii. 252 and 254. † Robertſon, ii. 398.

employed

employed in doing dirty work for the Queen, as mere *ſcavengers* and *nightmen* to Elizabeth. And to remove this riſing ill-humour, I ſuppoſe, it was reſolved to act the farce of hypocriſy over again, and to act it in a more artful manner. The re-collation of the letters ſeems to imply this. The re-appearance of the commiſſioners in the council, ſeems to confirm the implication. The Duke of Norfolk, we know, had early ſeen into the flagitious deſigns of Elizabeth. He had alſo received ſecret intelligence from Lethington at York, that the Queen's hand HAD BEEN FREQUENTLY COUNTERFEITED BY HIMSELF as her ſecretary. This was a confeſſion ſufficient of itſelf. From this, and from the others, he had been long apprehenſive of the danger of his ſituation; of the danger to his honour and conſcience, if he ſhould agree to condemn the innocent Queen; and of the danger to his happineſs in this world, if he ſhould ſtruggle to acquit her, and ſo provoke what he was ſure to incur, the curſed and implacable ſpirit of Elizabeth for it. And Elizabeth herſelf, who had been marking his conduct with a jealous eye, ever ſince he fruſtrated her deſigns upon him at York; and who had ſeen him ſince inclining, at times, to the ſide of Mary and of conſcience; half-angrily exclaimed upon ſome freſh inclination of his at this period, "That the "Queen of Scots would never want an advocate, "as long as Norfolk lived."*

It

* Crawford, 105—106, and 114; and Camden's Annals, 116—

It was accordingly determined in a previou council, at which all the commiſſioners wer preſent and five others,* on the 13th of Decem ber, that ſix of the principal nobility ſhould b ſummoned to take their ſeats at the board th next day; that the commiſſioners ſhould the lay before them "the whole proceadings in th "conference at Weſtminſter—and that alſo th "originall lettres and wrytyngs exhibited by th "Regent, as the Quene of Scotts lettres an "wrytings, ſhould alſo be ſhewed, and confer "ence thereof made in their ſight with th "lettres of the ſaid Quene's, being extant, an "heretofore wryten with her own hand, an "ſent to the Quene's Majeſty; wherby may b "ſerched and examyned what difference is be "twixt the ſamin." This ſeems fair. But w know Elizabeth too well, to truſt the fairneſs c her appearance. We have already ſeen her to artful not to be ſuſpected, too falſe not to b diſbelieved, and too diſhoneſt not to be ſtil thought knaviſh.

We even ſee her ſo here. This very council which was only doing (we may be ſure) wha ſhe had determined they ſhould do, reſolved fo her to tell the commiſſioners of Mary this capita falſehood; "That ſhe had cauſed the Erle c "Murray and his company to be STREIGHTL "and SHARPLY reproved and rebuked for the

116—117, and 118 of the Tranſlation, and 143, 144, and 14 of the Original.

* Goodall, ii. 252.

"audaciou

"audacious and unloyall accuſatioun of the "Quene to whom they were natyve ſubjects, in "SUCH LARGE SORT, AS A MORE ERNEST AND "SHARPER REPROOF COULD NOT BE DEVISED "IN MORE CONVENIENT WORDS."* This the reader knows to be a moſt glaring untruth. The reproof conſiſted of theſe words, that Elizabeth thought it "very much and very ſtrange" they ſhould accuſe Mary. This was ſubſtantially all. Yet this is aſſerted by the council to have been, and is recommended to be aſſerted by the Queen herſelf, "a ſtreight and "ſharp rebuke." It is even averred by the council, and even recommended to be averred by the Queen herſelf, to have been a rebuke "in "ſuch large ſort, as a more erneſt and ſharper "could not be deviſed in convenient words." The reproof is a clear evidence of the colluſive ſpirit of Elizabeth. This account of the reproof is a full demonſtration of the high effrontery, with which the colluſion was carried on. And, with ſuch effrontery of falſehood in this privy council, what juſtice, what fairneſs can be expected in the re-collation of the letters?

But the other council met the next day. It conſiſted of all the members of the council held the day before, and ſix additional members, all earls. *Elizabeth alſo was now preſent.* The proceedings of the commiſſioners at York, as well as at Weſtminſter, were ſummarily declared for the information of the earls. And another

* Goodall, ii. 253.

falſehood of a capital nature was ſanctioned
the reſt. " There was briefly ſhewed unto them
ſays the journal, " how the Quene of Sc
" commiſſioners firſt accuſed the Erle of Mur
" and his colleagues,—and how they did the
" make anſwer,—WITHOUT ANY SPECIAL
" PRAVING OR CALUMINATING THE HONOUR
" THE QUENE, and, next therto, the replication
" the other party: and ſurder was declared, h
" herupon the ſame treaty and conference u
" reaſonable cauſes was removed to Weſtminſt
" and how the Erle of Murray and his colleagu
" —*after proteſtation made*, were *unwilling to p*
" *cede any furder to touch the name and hono*
" *the Quene*, if their adverſaries had not pr
" ſed them with lack of loyalty; for reme
" whereof they produced" their accuſation.*

From this account of the conference at Yo
and from the former of that at Weſtminſter,
ſeems impoſſible for Elizabeth's managers
ſpeak the truth in a point of any conſequen
even for a ſingle moment. The new memb
were all unacquainted with either, except fr
report. They were to be informed concerni
both, by the relation of one of the commiſſion
in each. But the relator of each thought it
quiſite to prevaricate, in his narrative of the fa
And the ſame ſpirit of impoſition appears to h
predominated in the latter council, as in
former. The whole very material fact, conce
ing the communication of the letters to the co
miſſioners at York, is totally omitted. It is

* Goodall, ii. 255—256.

only omitted, but denied. It is all denied. Murray and his friends made anſwer, ſays the narrator, "without any ſpecial depraving or calumniating the honour of the Quene." And, as he adds afterwards on the conference being removed to Weſtminſter, "after proteſtation made" they "were unwilling to procede any furder to "touch the name and honor of the Quene, if "their adverſaries had not preſſed them with "lack of loyalty; for remedy whereof they *pro-*"*duced*" their accuſation.

They are thus repreſented by the verbal hiſtorian of the conference, as never *producing* any accuſation againſt Mary, much leſs *producing* any evidences for it, before they *produced* them at Weſtminſter. Thus all exhibition of the letters before is denied, as we have previouſly ſeen it repeatedly denied by Elizabeth herſelf. We muſt therefore go back once more to the conference at York, as ſtated by the commiſſioners themſelves. In their very firſt diſpatch to Elizabeth, they ſay thus of Murray and his friends: "As "we perceive be their *talk* at large, they *mean* "*to make it evident unto us*, that whatſoever they "have done againſt the Quene, they have pro-"ceaded therein upon good grounds, *ſuch as* "ſome of them—do ſaye, they are moſt ſorrë "that it is now come to that pointe, that *they* "*muſt needes declare and make manifeſt to the* "*world*, or elſe be accounted notorious re-"belles."* So plainly did they intimate their intentions at the very firſt meeting in York, of

* Goodall, ii. 114.

charging the Queen with murder! And that the commiſſioners thoroughly underſtood the ſcope and aim of their intimations, is apparent from a diſpatch of the ſame date with the former, written by one of them to Cecil, and ſpeaking in theſe terms. "In my opinion," ſays the Duke of Norfolk to him, "the matter, I feare, WILL "FALLE OWTE VERIE FOWLE, yff all be true "*that they heare ſtedfaſtlye affirm.*"* But, three days afterward, Murray put theſe very queſtions in writing to the commiſſioners: "I. We deſire "to be reſolvit, quhether ye haif commiſſioun— "to pronounce in THE CAUSE OF THE MURTHER, "*giltie* or *not giltie*—: III.—In caiſe SHE be "found gilty, we deſire to be reſolvit befoirhand, "quhether the QUENE ſall be deliverit in our "hands," &c. "IV. In cais SHE be found giltie, "we deſire," &c.† Here Murray opens his intentions of charging her with murder, in the moſt public and formal manner. Yet he opened it ſtill more fully, in his ſpeech to the commiſſioners at preſenting theſe queſtions; when he declared, as the commiſſioners themſelves tell us, that he and his friends "durſte in no wiſe "proceade to the accuſation of the King their "Sovereigne's mother in THE CAUSE OF THE MUR-"DER, before they weare reſolved in theis arti-"cles."‡ And, two days after this, the commiſſioners farther tell us in their remarkable diſpatch of October the 11th, That "the Erle of Murray "and his colleagues have put in their anſweare," "[in the morninge" of that day, ſays the jour-

* Goodall, ii. 117. † Ibid. 130. ‡ Ibid. 137.

nal,]

nal], "the copie of which anſweare we ſend "herewith to your Majeſtie; and albeit they "have in the ſame touched nothing plainlie in "THE CAUSE OF THE MURDER, whereupon they "*ſtaye* and *ſuſpend* their proceadings, *untill* they "may be reſolved in their articles proponed "unto us, which we ſent in our laſt letters to "your Majeſtie, yet the ſaid Erle" ["in the "afternoone" of that day, ſays the journal] "hath bene content privatlie to *ſhew* us SUCH "MATTEIR AS THEY HAVE TO CONDEMPNE THE "QUENE OF SCOTTES OF THE MURDER OF HER "HUSBAND."* From this account it appears, that the rebels had told the commiſſioners at their very firſt meeting, of their deſign to charge Mary with murder; that they had openly avowed their deſign, in a formal paper of queſtions to them afterwards; that they had opened it ſtill more, in a verbal addreſs to them when they preſented the ſaid paper; and that therefore the commiſſioners had expected the charge from them, in their reply to Mary's accuſation; that in the opinion of the commiſſioners it was intimated, though not *plainly*, in their ſaid reply; that a clear and direct charge of murder againſt her was only *ſtaid* and *ſuſpended*, till they could receive an anſwer to ſome queſtions from Elizabeth; and that, in the mean time, they actually laid *all their proofs of the murder* before the commiſſioners. So little did they proceed till the conference at Weſtminſter, "without any ſpecial depraving or calumniating "the honour of the Quene." All this very ac-

* Goodall, ii. 139—140.

count, alſo, the commiſſioners ſent to Elizabeth. They even ſent her, in the laſt diſpatch, a long deſcription of the criminating letters. They even ſent her a large abſtract of them. They even ſent her many extracts from them.* And ſhe even laid all theſe papers before her privy council.† Yet, now, ſome new members of the council, the repreſentatives (as it were) of all the nobility upon this occaſion, are told, That no ſuch things had happened.

Who the teller of either of theſe falſehoods was, of that concerning the conference at Weſtminſter, or of this concerning the conference at York, does not appear. Moſt probably it was Sir Ralph Sadler for the latter, and Sir William Cecil for the former. Both appear to have ſpoken what they knew to be abſolutely falſe. Nor can any excuſe be made for Sir Ralph, from the circumſtance of the letters being *privately* communicated to the commiſſioners. I have already ſhewn, that the accuſers had ſpoken ſo openly of their accuſation in converſation with the commiſſioners, and even in a paper of queſtions preſented to them, and even in a perſonal addreſs to them, as to make the commiſſioners expect it on the 11th of October; that it would *then* have been produced, if a difficulty had not occurred that it was to be produced as ſoon as Elizabeth's anſwer came to York; and that the proofs and evidences of it were in the mean time laid before the commiſſioners. There was a *little* delay

* Goodall, ii. 150—153. † Ibid. 170.

therefor

therefore to the *formal* production of the charge and the letters; but they were both produced in *fact*. The letters particularly, on which the whole reſted and balanced, were ſubmitted to the full inſpection of the commiſſioners. They thought it requiſite for them *as commiſſioners*, to make a *public* diſpatch concerning them, and to tranſmit a deſcription of them, an abſtract of them, and even extracts from them, to *Elizabeth*. And Elizabeth thought it equally requiſite for her to lay them all, as *public* papers, before her *privy council*.

But it is very obſervable, that this falſehood concerning the buſineſs at York, and the other concerning the buſineſs at Weſtminſter, were both told in preſence of ſeveral perſons, *who all knew* the teller *at the time* to be ſuppreſſing a grand fact, to be denying a grand truth, and to be delivering a grand lie. So very like were Elizabeth, Elizabeth's counſellors, and Elizabeth's commiſſioners, in the habit of audacious lying! Thus, when the *firſt* council was informed by Sir William Cecil or any other perſon, concerning the reproof given by the commiſſioners to Murray and his partiſans; all the other commiſſioners were preſent. They were well acquainted with the nature of that reproof. They had delivered it themſelves. They had made it to be recorded on their journals. And they knew it to be a very gentle one. Yet they ſuffered it to be repreſented to the reſt of the council, as a "ſtreight and a ſharp" one. They ſuffered a minute of it, as ſuch, to be entered on the books

of the privy council. They even conſented to ſuggeſt a ſpeech to her Majeſty, formally vouching it to be ſuch. And they even agreed to pronounce themſelves, and to make Elizabeth pronounce, one of the mildeſt reprehenſions that could well be given, to be "in ſo large a ſort, "as a more erneſt and ſharper reproof could not "be deviſed in convenient words." Juſt ſo, when Sir Ralph Sadler, or ſome other informed the *ſecond* council, that Murray had made no "ſpecial depraving or calumniating the honour "of the Quene," before the conference at Weſtminſter; the members preſent were he and the other two commiſſioners at York, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Suſſex. Theſe very perſons had known of the intended charge from the rebels themſelves. Theſe very perſons had known the charge to be intimated (as intimated it undoubtedly is), though not plainly, in the anſwer of the rebels. Theſe very perſons had known the poſitive charge to be only delayed, in expectation of a letter from Elizabeth. And theſe very perſons had ſeen the letters which were to ſubſtantiate it, had ſent a long account of them to Elizabeth, and had ever been influenced by them to believe the guilt of Mary in the murder. Yet they now permit a narrative of their proceedings to be given before them, and to be recorded on the books of the privy council, that omitted and denied all this that ſtated no "ſpecial depraving or calumniat-"ing the honour of the Quene," to have taken place before them at all; and that affirmed the firſt production of the charge to have been long afterwards at Weſtminſter. To this all the old

members

members of the council equally agree; though *they* had ſat in that very council-chamber, upon the diſpatches of the commiſſioners concerning the letters. To this alſo Elizabeth agrees, ſitting as ſhe was in her chair at the head of the council-table; though ſhe herſelf had received the letters, though ſhe herſelf had communicated the letters to her council, and though ſhe herſelf had deliberated upon the letters with them. Such a wonderful confederacy appears among them all, in the act of falſifying! With ſuch an amazing congruity do the head and the members unite together! And ſuch an aſtoniſhing aſcendancy does the head appear to have had over the members, that what ſhe wills they will; that truth comes recommended to them, only by her adopting it; and that obſerved equivocations, known prevarications, and poſitive falſities, are all implicitly entertained by them at her beck.

From theſe facts, drawn as they are out of Elizabeth's own journals, and from journals too, either altered and interlined or written originally by Cecil himſelf; we may be very certain, that the re-collation of the letters, agreed to in the firſt council and performed in the ſecond, was only a continuation of the ſame ſyſtem of impoſition, which we have found ſo uniformly purſued hitherto, and which we ſhall ſee ſo invariably proſecuted afterwards. The council however met. The letters were produced. And the collation took place. "There were pro-"duced," ſays Cecil in his own altered and interlined journal of the council, "ſundry letters,

"ſuppoſed

" ſuppoſed to be written by the Quene of Scot
" own hand to the Erle Bothwell; of which let
" tres the originals, ſuppoſed to be written wit
" the Quene of Scots own hand, were then alſ
" preſentlie produced and peruſed; and, bein
" read, were duly conferred and compared, ſo
" the manner of writing and faſhion of orthogra
" phy, with ſundry other lettres long ſince here
" tofore written and ſent by the ſaid Quene o
" Scotts to the Quene's Majeſty;"* or, as th
council before deſcribed them, " with the lettre
" of the ſaid Quene's, being extant, and hereto
" fore wrytten with hir own hand, and ſent to th
" Quene's Majeſty." †

The letters had been authenticated at thei
firſt appearance before the commiſſioners i
York, by the force of affirmations and by th
offer of oaths. At their ſecond appearance be
fore the commiſſioners in Weſtminſter, they ha
been authenticated by the written aſſeveratior
of the producers,‡ and by the collations of ther
with letters *preſented by the producers themſelve*
And they are now to be authenticated pret
nearly in the ſame manner. They are now co
lated with letters, NOT indubitably origina
themſelves, and *therefore* proper to be ſtandar
of collation to the others. But they are collate
with letters, *that require to be previouſly collate*
They are collated with letters furniſhed—
whom? Not, indeed, as before, by the produce
of the letters; *but*—by *their confidante and aſſ*

* Goodall, ii. 256. † Ibid. ii. 252. ‡ Ibid. ii. 92
cia

ciate in the buſineſs, even by—ELIZABETH herſelf. This is obviouſly a ſtroke of *legerdemain*, like the other. It is only a more artful ſtroke. It is obviouſly a ſhade of the ſame darkneſs of machination. It is only a lighter ſhade. And it was obviouſly made to ſucceed the other, *becauſe* it was more artful and more light.

Murray's letters were compared with ſome of Elizabeth's. Theſe are ſaid to have been written with Mary's own hand, and ſent by Mary to her. But who *witneſſed to the hand of Mary?* NO ONE! Who *witneſſed to the ſending of them by Mary?* NO ONE! We muſt take both upon the authority of Elizabeth and her privy council. But *can* we do ſo, upon any principle of propriety? We certainly cannot. We cannot ſuffer either the privy council, or their preſident Elizabeth, to become at once witneſſes and judges. This would be confounding capacities, that ſhould for ever be kept diſtinct; and opening wide the flood-gates of iniquity upon every accuſed perſon. But, even if we could do this, yet can we admit the teſtimony of either? Or, to ſpeak more preciſely, as the whole centers in Elizabeth herſelf at laſt, ſhe being the grand center of gravity to all this political ſyſtem; can we admit *her* evidence upon the point? We aſſuredly cannot. We have already ſeen her ſo deceitful and ſo audacious, in all the proceedings hitherto; that we cannot, in common juſtice to Mary, lay any ſtreſs upon her evidence. We ſhall alſo ſee her hereafter ſo eluſive and ſo ſhameleſs, that in common candour to ourſelves, we

we cannot but reject her teſtimony with diſda
We have already convicted her of ſo many f
feitures of honour, and ſo many violations
truth, as muſt operate with regard to her, juſt
the whipping-poſt and the pillory do with v
gar offenders, and incapacitate her for being
evidence for ever.

Even if we could allow Elizabeth to be
once a witneſs and a judge; and even if we co
give her ſuch a credit for probity, as would ma
her a competent witneſs; yet we certainly c
not admit her to teſtify to facts, which it v
abſolutely impoſſible for her to know. She co
not poſſibly know, that Mary wrote the produc
letters to her. She did not ſee her write the
She never ſaw her write at all. Nor could
poſſibly know, that Mary ſent them. She
not preſent when they were ſent. She did
pretend to be ſo. And ſhe did not pretend
produce any one, who ſaw them ſent, who
them written, or who had ever ſeen any thi
written by Mary.

All her evidence then, and all the evidence
her privy council, which is only hers at ſeco
hand, cannot weigh as a ſingle atom of duſt
the balance of reaſon. Common ſenſe, indee
recoils at the production of ſuch evidence.
conſiders the cauſe as a ſcandalous one, which
by ſuch evidence to be ſupported. And it loo
upon Elizabeth, it looks upon her creatures
the privy council, as evidently betraying ther
ſelves by their conduct, to be the knaviſh patro
of a knaviſh cauſe.

Elizabe

Elizabeth was too plainly a confederate with Murray, not to be capable of any colluſion for him. This has been already ſhewn. But it may be ſhewn additionally, from a ſlight intimation in the journal of this very council. Murray and his friends, it is there ſaid, "after proteſtation "made, were unwilling to procede any furder "to touch the name and honour of the Quene, "if their adverſaries had not preſſed them with "lack of loyalty; for remedy whereof they pro-"duced" their accuſation.* This was the very excuſe and apology made by Murray himſelf; he declaring in the very proteſtation, that he and his "cum not willingly to hir accuſation of ſo "odious a cryme, but are thairto enforcit be "hir awin preſſing, and thair adverſaries."† And all this is abſolutely falſe, as I have repeatedly ſhewn. Yet Elizabeth was as ready to adopt *his* falſehoods, as ſhe was to manage her own. She could take up, what ſhe knew to be an hypocritical lie in him. She could repeat it with the ſame aſſurance of hypocriſy, becauſe it was his. And ſhe could thus be content to reduce herſelf to the loweſt ſituation in the profligacy of falſehoods, to become the echoer of hypocriſy, the abetter of a lie, and a mere train-bearer to this falſifying Scotchman.

In this debaſing ſpirit of Elizabeth, ſhe ſeems to have taken ſome known forgeries of Mary's hand, to have preſented them for genuine letters of Mary's compoſition, and to have

* Goodall, ii. 255—256. † Ibid. 205.

collated

collated Murray's with them. That ſhe was capable of this, no one can doubt, who has ſeen the preceding account, or who ſhall ſee the account following. Her commiſſioners — though ſome of them men of honour, yet wrought upon by her pervading influence, only a few days before had actually done, what was bad in reality, and even worſe in appearance. They had collated Murray's aſſerted originals with Murray's affirmed originals. And as the very channel, by which the latter were conveyed to the commiſſioners, carried a ſtrong taint with it; the natural recourſe was to forgeries, not conveyed by Murray, *but* communicated by Elizabeth.

Yet how ſhall Elizabeth procure them? The ſame hand, which had fabricated the firſt ſet of Murray's originals, fabricated alſo the ſecond. Yet *theſe* could not be the letters produced by Elizabeth upon the preſent occaſion. I do not ſuppoſe indeed, that ſhe would have been either afraid or aſhamed of re-producing the letters as her own to the council, which had been previouſly produced by Murray to the commiſſioners. She would rather have gloried in the fine dexterity of her management, which had ordered a new collation to be made, and yet collated them with the ſame papers. But Elizabeth's originals were *addreſſed to Elizabeth*, which Murray's could not be. And Elizabeth muſt have derived them from another quarter. A memorial, that was preſented to Elizabeth by one of Mary's commiſſioners, points out to us a quarter

a quarter from which they might eaſily be derived. "My miſtreſs does affirm conſtantly," ſays the commiſſioner, "ſhe never did write ony "ſic letters as are alledgit, but the ſamin are "forgit and maid expreſslie be hir adverſaries, "to color thair ungrate and ungodly behaviour "toward hir, their native prince and ſoverane: *as* "their are *ſindrie quha can counterfiet hir hand-writ*, quha have been brocht up in hir com-"panie, OF QUHOM THAIR ARE SUM ASSIST-"AND THEMSELFIS, as weill of other natiounis "as of Scottis; as I doubt not bot ZOUR MAJES-"TIE, and divers uthers of zour Hienes's court, "HAS SENE SINDRIE LETTERIS SENT HERE "FROM SCOTLAND, quhilk wald not be kend "[from them] by her own handwrit."* This memorial is dated the 17th† of December, nine days after the production of the letters, and *three* after the pretended collation of them in council. It aſſerts many counterfeit letters of Mary's to have been well known to have exiſted formerly. It appeals for this fact to the recollection of Elizabeth herſelf, and of many in her court. And it avers ſome of Murray's own accomplices to have counterfeited ſome of theſe letters; as Lethington had ingenuouſly confeſſed to the Duke of Norfolk at York, that he himſelf had actually counterfeited ſome of theſe or of others;‡ and as this his confeſſion had been divulged by the

* Goodall, ii. 388—389.

† Ibid. 392, and *Errata* prefixed to vol. 1ſt.

‡ Camden's Annals, 116 Tranſlation, and 143—144 Original.

Duke,

Duke, and was now become known unto many
Yet, notwithſtanding ſuch a well-known fa
ſuch a deciſive confeſſion, and ſuch an open pub
cation of it, the commiſſioners of Elizabeth h
collated Murray's criminating letters with ſo
other letters of Murray's. They had thus enabl
thoſe very accomplices of his, who are he
charged by Mary's commiſſioner with havi
forged letters in her name, and one of who
had actually acknowledged the charge befo
to obtrude their own notorious forgeries up
them for genuine writings. And when Elizabe
afterwards ordered another collation to be ma
by her council and in her preſence, ſhe h
probably done *what this very memorial perha*
intended to intimate ſhe had done. She had fo
merly received letters from Scotland in the nam
of Mary, which were afterwards found not to
written by her, and yet were in imitation of h
writing. Elizabeth, therefore, had nothing to d
at preſent, but to ſearch out theſe in her repo
ſitory of papers, to bring them forward as tru
originals, and then to apply them as teſts of th
authenticity of the others. They had bee
known indeed to be ſpurious before; but thi
was all forgotten probably. They had bee
"long ſince heretofore wrytten and ſent." An
whether it was or was not forgotten, who woul
be there to *identify* them? Who indeed woul
examine them at all? Who would preſume t
ſhew any doubt at all, concerning papers pro

* Crawford, 114, "her—hand, 'twas notoriouſly know
"Lethingtone, by his own confeſſion, had often counterfeited.
duce

duced by Elizabeth as originals, vouched to be ſo by her own preſence at their production, and produced merely for the collation of others with them? No one *would*. No one *did*. That Elizabeth's letters were genuine, was taken for granted. Not a hint, not the ſlighteſt hint, is given in the journal, of any attempt made, or even of any wiſh breathed, for meaſuring the ſtandard and for trying the teſt itſelf, before they proceeded to apply it to the points before them.

Yet this *muſt have been done*, if ſuppoſitious letters had *not* been uſed by Elizabeth. *She* would have called the attention of her council to an examination of her own papers, before ſhe proceeded to Murray's. *She* would have conſidered of ſome previous mode of aſſaying their quality, before ſhe would ſuffer her council to conſider them as ſterling. The production of letters under Mary's hand, by men who wanted to vindicate their rebellion againſt her, to ſanction their ſeizure of her perſon, and to confirm their uſurpation of her crown, would naturally have given a ſtrong edge of ſuſpiciouſneſs to the minds of all, and have made the Queen and her miniſters peculiarly cautious in their choice of papers for collating them. Nothing would have been accepted as true and authentick itſelf, but what had undergone a ſtrict inquiſition firſt. And *then* Murray's papers would have been compared with *authenticated* originals. But this would not comport with the flagitious purpoſes of Elizabeth. To collate the letters with any

others than counterfeits like themſelves, it is plain from the paſt, and it will be equally plain from the future, would never be permitted by Elizabeth, and could never be endured by Murray. They had already been collated with counterfeits, which Murray himſelf ſupplied. And to collate them with counterfeits which had not been ſupplied by Murray, and would *not* be examined themſelves, was naturally the next ſtep in artful profligacy.

But had Elizabeth never acted flagitiouſly before, and did ſhe never act flagitiouſly afterwards; had ſhe always acted with honour before, and was ſhe always to act with honour afterwards; or even had ſhe relented in her mean purſuits, given up all her artifice, and been content to come down to the noble ſimplicities of probity; or even had ſhe relented only for a ſeaſon, have then relapſed into all her former ſins of diſſimulation, and ſo have been honeſt only *for* the momentary interval between the preceding and the ſubſequent villanies: yet ſhe muſt have behaved very differently from what ſhe did. She muſt neceſſarily have ſent for THE COMMISSIONERS OF MARY, have told them of Murray's letters, AND HAVE REQUIRED FROM THEM SOME OF MARY'S FOR THE COLLATION. This would have been the *leaſt* that ſhe could do. This *at leaſt* ſhe would have done. She would thus have retained the power of collating in her own hands. Mary's commiſſioners could not poſſibly have impoſed upon her. She might have called for paper after paper from them, in order to

examine one by the other, and to compare Murray's with all. She might even have written to Mary herſelf, and ſent one of her own commiſſioners and one of Mary's to ſee her write her anſwer. She might even have called for ſome of the publick records of the kingdom, that had received the ſignature of Mary to them a few years before. And ſhe might even have procured letters of hers, which had been equally written a few years before to her relations in France, to the French, to the Spaniſh, or to the Papal courts. Almoſt *any* of theſe modes of acting muſt have been ſufficient for the buſineſs. All of them together muſt have thrown the light of the noon-day ſun over the whole. And all or any would undoubtedly have been uſed, if Elizabeth had meant to act honeſtly, even for a ſingle moment,

But ſhe had no ſuch deſign. She therefore took a very different route. She called upon no foreign courts for Mary's letters. She called for no domeſtick records ſubſcribed by her. She ſolicited no letter from her herſelf, to be written in the preſence of commiſſioners. And ſhe required no letters of Mary's from her old commiſſioners in London. She thought it better to ſupply the want of all, with letters produced by herſelf, with letters vouched by herſelf; to ſuperſede all inquiry into *them*, by leading directly to a collation of the others; upon an acknowledged ſimilarity, to pronounce them both to be authentick; haſtily to withdraw them both, when the haſty work was done; and then to record this

inquiſitorial mockery of juſtice in the journal of the privy council, as a full and perfect examination.

§ II.

WHEN Murray produced his falſe credentials at York, they were *ſpeedily* returned to him Yet being *privately* exhibited to Elizabeth's commiſſioners, and therefore in no danger of being ſhewn to Mary's; they were left long enough in the hands of the former, to be deſcribed, abſtracted, and even copied in parts, by them But, when they were re-produced at Weſtminſter, a different form of procedure was followed by Murray. They were *publickly* produced then They were therefore returned *immediately*. We have a minute of the whole in the journal of the commiſſioners. And it carries all the marks of the ſhuffling trepidation of a villain, fearful of being detected in his villainous operations. The letters, ſays the journal, "being *copied*, were "read, and a due collation made thereof, as "neere as could be, by reading and inſpection "and made to accord with the ORIGINALS, which "the SAID EARL OF MURRAY REQUIRED TO BE "RE-DELIVERED, and did therupon *deliver* the "COPIES being collationed."* He exhibited the originals. He exhibited alſo copies of them He had taken care to bring copies with him becauſe he meant to leave copies only. He induced the board of commiſſioners to comply wit

* Appendix, No. viii.

h

his wiſhes. They proceeded inſtantly to collate his copies with his originals. This done, Murray demanded back his originals, received them, and then delivered up his copies. And thus the originals were *juſt ſhewn and withdrawn.*

This certainly has all the aſpect of an *hocus-pocus* trick of diſhoneſty. It certainly was one in itſelf. It was indeed ſo much one, that we ſhould be perfectly aſtoniſhed at the ready ſubmiſſion of the commiſſioners to it; if we had not already ſeen them cowering with ſuch vicious humility before, under the heavy hand of Elizabeth; and if we did not recollect, that this was the very trick, which Murray about five months before expreſsly required Elizabeth to play by her commiſſioners. "Sen our ſervant Mr. Jhone "Wode hes the copies of the ſamin letteris,"—he ſays, "we wald erneſtlie deſyre—that—the "juges may reſolve us this far, IN CAIS THE "PRINCIPAL AGRIE WITH THE COPIE, that *then* "we PRVIF THE CAUS INDEED."* This accounts for the whole. This ſhews the influence, that drew them out of the courſe which they ſhould otherwiſe have purſued; and made them move in ſuch an irregular and eccentric manner. In common juſtice to the accuſed Queen, in common juſtice to their own characters, in common juſtice to their own feelings, they ſhould have required the evidences, on which the accuſation was grounded, to be left in the poſſeſſion of the court. They ſhould then have examined

* Appendix, No. iii.

them with the niceſt care themſelves. They ſhould have collated them again and again with authenticated originals. Such a haſty collation of them as they made with Murray's pretended originals, *even if theſe had been real*, could never have been ſatisfactory. A compariſon of papers, in order to aſcertain the genuineneſs or the ſpuriouſneſs of a handwriting, demands a long and painful attention. It is the ſlow work of hours and of days. And if it is to be done in company, like the buſineſs of a commiſſion, it will neceſſarily proceed with a ſtill ſlower pace. The commiſſioners of Mary ſhould alſo have had free acceſs to them, ſhould have been allowed to collate them day after day with their own originals, and ſhould have been permitted to tranſcribe them from end to end.—But the forgeries would not bear the inſpection. They would ſoon have been detected by it. They could only bear to be ſhewn, to be collated with *Murray's own ſtandards*, and then to be inſtantly withdrawn.

They were a few days afterwards exhibited again to the privy council. Who exhibited them the journal does not tell us; or who received them back again. Murray was not preſent in the council. But he was attending, no doubt in one of the rooms adjoining. There he put them into the hand of Cecil probably. There he probably received them back from Cecil. They had now been collated with *Elizabeth's own ſtandards*, which were equally authentic with Murray's, as ſhe was equally with him in the conſpirac

conſpiracy againſt Mary; and then withdrawn inſtantly again. We are certain, that they were equally as before returned to Murray. And we actually find him afterwards in Scotland, retaining them in his own poſſeſſion to the day of his death.*

Mary was thus cut off from all poſſibility of inſpecting the originals, and of expoſing the ſpuriouſneſs by detecting the handwriting of them. She was reduced to the ſituation of a warriour in an Indian ambuſcade. She could be wounded at will by her foes. Yet ſhe could not return the wounds. *She could not ſee her enemy.* And ſhe might therefore, with the utmoſt propriety of ſentiment, and with more than the original ſublimity of courage, have ſaid with Ajax in the Iliad,

Give me but light, and Ajax aſks no more.

But, then, this very ſituation is an ample vindication in itſelf. Had ſhe been *guilty*, had ſhe *in the ſlighteſt degree* been acceſſary to the crime charged upon her, had there been even a *fair probability* of proving her guilty of the charge, in ſpite of her innocence; her enemies would have acted in a very different manner. No ambuſcade would they have laid for her. They would never have ſkulked behind the buſhes, and wounded her with inviſible ſhafts. They would have come forward into view. They would have engaged in open fight with her. They

* Appendix, No. iv.

would have produced the originals, with pretended regret and with real triumph. They would have lodged them with the commiſſioners at York. They would have lodged them with the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter. They would have compelled both, to collate them carefully with private and with public, with foreign and with domeſtic, writings of Mary's. Her commiſſioners would alſo have *been called upon* to inſpect them, would have been *urged* to compare them, would have been *challenged* to diſprove them. Mary herſelf would have been brought up from her confinement in the country, as ſhe frequently requeſted to be; have been ſuffered to enjoy *the freeſt acceſs* to them; have been allowed to make *every* objection to them; and have been heard with all the patience of candour, for *days* and for *weeks*, in her attempts to invalidate their authority. Such *muſt* have been the demeanour of Murray the producer, and of Elizabeth the receiver, of the letters; if they had thought her *guilty*, if they had thought her *probably* ſo, if they had thought her ſo *in appearance only*. And a conduct, totally the reverſe of all this, proves what they never reflected it would prove, the falſehood of their own pretences, the profligacy of their own conduct, and the purity of hers. Knaves little think, when they are exerting their arts of impoſition, and exhauſting their fund of deceit, for the proſecution and concealment of their ſcandalous purpoſes; that they are telling the

the world they are ſcandalous, by their very concealment.

Unapprehenſive of ſuch future obſtructions to the ſight of the letters, Mary, in her original directions to her commiſſioners, had ordered them thus: "In cais thay alledge thay have ony writ-"ingis of mine, quhilk may infer preſumptioun "againſt me in that cauſe, ze ſall deſyre the "PRINCIPALIS to be producit, and that *I myſelf* "may have INSPECTION thereof, and mak an-"ſwer thairto." * Ignorant equally of theſe precluding artifices afterwards, the commiſſioners accordingly demanded the ſight of the originals now. Theſe were exhibited to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter on the 8th of December, and to the privy council on the 14th. And on the 25th Mary's commiſſioners appeared before the latter, with a "ſpecial command fra thair Maiſtres;" delivered her meſſage, "producit the ſpecial "writingis and inſtructionis ſent be thair Maiſtres "to thame;" and then "maiſt humblie deſyrit "the Quene's Majeſtie to CAUSE THAM HAVE ſic "*writingis*, as wer *producit* aganis thair Maiſtres "be thair Maiſtres's adverſaris." † Thoſe inſtructions of Mary's are ſtill in being. They are dated the 19th of December, and run thus. "Ze ſall deſire the INSPECTION of all thay haif "producit aganis us; and that we may sè the "alledgit PRINCIPAL writingis, *gif they haif ony*, "producit; and with God's grace we ſall make "ſic anſwer thairto, that our innocence ſall be

* Goodall, ii. 342. † Ibid. 281—282.

"knawin

" knawin to our guid ſiſter, and to all utheris " princes."* So little was Mary made acquainted, even with the *fact* of the production of the letters on the 8th; and ſo ſtudiouſly was even this concealed from the commiſſioners of Mary; that ſhe was not yet certified of it on the 19th! She had only heard of it by report. But ſhe inſtantly required an inſpection of the letters, if any ſuch had been produced; and expreſſed her full conviction of aſcertaining her innocence completely, to the ſatisfaction of Elizabeth and all the ſovereigns on the continent. This was the natural challenge of innocence, in Mary. But her " guid ſiſter" wanted not to have her " innocence knawin." She rather choſe to conſider her as guilty, and to have " all utheris " princes" do ſo too. Yet ſhe could not object to the requeſt, though ſhe never meant to grant it. This " deſire," ſay Mary's commiſſioners, " hir Majeſtie [of England] thocht verie reſſon- " abill."† She could not do leſs. But did ſhe *grant* it? The reader ſhall ſee.

If Elizabeth had had *one* ſpark of honour yet unquenched in her breaſt, ſhe would *inſtantly* have given the requiſite orders. But ſhe did *not* give them. She ſaid ſhe would *conſider* of the petition. " To the effect hir Majeſtie micht be " THE BETTER ADVISIT upon thair deſyris, and " give anſwer thairto," ſhe " deſyrit ane extract " of the ſaid writing," their inſtructions, " to be " gevin to hir Hienes; quhilk the ſaid commiſ-

* Goodall, ii. 289. † Ibid. 282.

"fionaris did on the morn deliver." * She would *conſider*, whether ſhe ſhould give to Mary the only poſſibility of expoſing the ſpuriouſneſs of a handwriting, which was to ſupport a charge of *murder* againſt her; by permitting her, or by permitting her commiſſioners, to inſpect the writing. She pretended ſhe wanted time to *conſider*, becauſe even *ſhe* had not the audacity to *deny*. She had the audacity, however, to *withhold*. And it is plain from her conduct, that the whole compounded maſs of flagitiouſneſs muſt inſtantly have been reſolved into duſt, if ſhe had granted the requiſition. She therefore pretended ſtill to *conſider*.

But Mary was too keen and too intereſted, to be ſo put off. On the 7th of January following, the commiſſioners of Mary again entered the privy council, and declared to Elizabeth, that "thay had preſentlie reſſavit writingis fra the "Quene's Majeſtie of Scotland, thair Soverane," who "deſirit THE WRITINGIS PRODUCIT BE HIR "INOBEDIENT SUBJECTIS to be DELIVERED UNTO THAME." † But Elizabeth was ſtill obliged to withhold her conſent, and ſtill compelled therefore to procraſtinate. She accordingly took ſhelter again behind her old ſubterfuge of *conſideration*. "The Quene's Majeſtie of England TUIK TO BE ADVYSIT THAIRWITH." ‡

Mary, in her *firſt* requiſition, deſired not only to ſee the originals, but to have copies of them.

* Goodall, ii. 282. † Ibid. 297. ‡ Ibid. ibid.

She

She demanded "the inſpection AND DOUBILLIS" of all that her rebels had produced againſt her.* She wanted a ſight of them, to examine the nature of the handwriting. She wanted duplicates, to examine the matters contained in them. But when ſhe received an account of Elizabeth's affected delay to ſuch an obvious act of juſtice, ſhe ſaw through her whole deſign. She was fully convinced in her mind, that the *originals* would never be ſubmitted to her view, or the view of her commiſſioners. Yet ſhe was eager to enter upon her vindication. She reſolved to engage her enemies immediately. And ſhe was determined to cloſe with them, even under every diſadvantage of ground. Such was the natural gallantry of innocence! Her commiſſioners, therefore, lowered their tone a little in their *ſecond* requiſition. They ſtill demanded a ſight of the originals. But they would be content to be indulged with copies only. They accordingly, in the name of their miſtreſs, "deſirit the writingis producit be her "inobedient ſubjectis, OR, AT THE LEIST, THE "COPIES THAIROF, to be deliverit unto thame."† And Mary's inſtructions to them for this requiſition were even in a ſtill lower key, being only to "require of our ſaid guid ſiſter that COPIES be "given zou thairof."‡ This was certainly not judicious, becauſe it committed her honour to the hazard of a battle, in which ſhe *might* not have been victorious. Yet it was the genuine

* Goodall, ii. 289. † Ibid. 297. ‡ Ibid. 298.

heroiſm of an honeſt heart. And, as is frequently ſeen in life, the injudiciouſneſs conſtitutes the heroicalneſs of it.

But this very gallantry of innocence, this very heroiſm of honeſty, made Elizabeth to ſhrink the more from a conflict. She retired as Mary advanced. She entrenched herſelf behind her delays. She dared not to engage an enemy for her bravery, whom ſhe might have defeated perhaps from her raſhneſs. She dreaded the dignity of provoked worth, now it was riſing in its own defence. She was afraid of the lion, that ſhe had baſely wounded under the maſk of friendſhip, even caught as it was in her toils; when it now began to raiſe its voice of terrour againſt her.

At the laſt requiſition, however, Elizabeth promiſed to give an anſwer "within two or three "dayis." * But her prime-miniſter Cecil, that boaſted ſtateſman of our iſle, and that ever-ready tool of tyranny to his miſtreſs, had previouſly gone to work in digeſting a propoſal, which ſhould divert Mary a while from her requiſition. He had planned it for Elizabeth, the very day the requiſition was made. And Elizabeth accordingly propoſed it to Mary's commiſſioners, as ſoon as they had delivered their requiſition. It was, that Mary ſhould reſign the crown which had been taken from her; that her infant ſon, who had been made to uſurp it, ſhould retain it ſtill; and that ſhe ſhould continue in England

* Goodall, ii. 298.

with

with the title and appointments of a Quee
Had Mary been guilty, ſhe would have b
glad to eſcape from priſon and from proſecut
ſo eaſily. But *then* Elizabeth would never h
made the propoſal. And the majeſty of c
ſcious honour in Mary, ſcorned to ſtoop to ſi
a palliative, for a cure of her misfortu
By an act like this, ſhe would have ſanctio
all the calumnies that had been thrown u
her in Scotland, and have eſtabliſhed all
charges that had been brought againſt her
England. Her commiſſioners, therefore, ſp
out inſtantly upon the overture from Elizab
that "ſcho wald NEVER CONDISCEND to di
"her crown, and had given him," the Biſ
of Roſs, "ſpecial command to declare the ſam
"in cais it were proponit to him."† Yet Eli
beth was too much bent upon her purpoſe,
take this prompt reply. She "did EARNES
"PRESS him," that he and the other commiſſi
ers of Mary ſhould write to her on the ſubj
But this "THAY ALL WHOLLIE AND ABSOLUT
"REFUSIT."‡ Such was the powerful convic
of their Queen's innocence and honour, t
reigned in the boſoms of theſe worthy repre
tatives of hers! Elizabeth however was
reſolute upon the point, to be even ſo beat
She wanted chiefly to procraſtinate. She wan
greatly to do ſo. She wanted to bury the
requiſition for a ſight of the originals, un
a new propoſal. She therefore "del

* Goodall, ii. 300 and 295. † Ibid. ibid. ‡ Ibid. it
"tha

"thame to reſſoun and confer with ſum noble-
"men of hir Hienes's counſel, whom her Ma-
"jeſtie wald appoint, upon that and UTHER
"thingis quhilk ſould be proponit, and to give
"thame thair determinat anſwer thairto."*

This was a propoſal, to which they could not with any propriety refuſe to accede. Elizabeth therefore obtained her deſire of delaying and diverting. The commiſſioners met ſome of her privy counſellors two days afterwards. Then there appeared not to be any "uther thingis "quhilk ſould be proponit," and to which they were to give "thair determinat anſwer." There was nothing new propoſed, on the part of Elizabeth. There was therefore nothing but the old anſwer to be given, on the part of Mary. Her commiſſioners had only to repeat, as they did repeat in all the firm tone of an innocence which could neither be frightened nor cajoled; "That the "Quene, thair maiſtres, wald NEVER conſent to di-
"mit hir crown IN ONY WAY nor UPON ONY CON-
"DITIOUNIS, quhilk WER OR COULD BE PROPO-
"NIT."† And Mary herſelf, having been informed of ſome overtures of the like nature before, had replied with a grandeur of ſoul, that muſt for ever ſet her high in the opinion of the diſcerning. "AS TO RESIGNING MY CROWN," ſhe ſays, "I BEG YOU TO TROUBLE ME NO MORE ABOUT
"IT; for I AM RESOLVED AND DETERMINED
"RATHER TO DIE THAN TO DO IT; and THE LAST
"WORD, WHICH I SHALL UTTER IN MY LIFE,

* Goodall, li. 300—301. † Ibid. 304.

"SHALL

" SHALL BE THAT OF A QUEEN OF SCOTLAND. The force of Mary's intellect, and the vigour Mary's honour, break out here like a flash lightning, to awe and confound her adverſari This anſwer was never ſeen by Elizabeth. B it was *felt* in the anſwer of her commiſſione at firſt, and in their reply at preſent; both them animated with a beam of Mary's fire. T counſellors of Elizabeth promiſed to repeat the reply.† And all thoughts of an inſpection the originals, were laid aſide for the time.

But they would be immediately revive Murray was ſtill in London. The originals we there with him. Mary's commiſſioners had twi called for a ſight of them. They had be hitherto put off under the poor pretence *conſidering*, what nothing but knavery cou have wiſhed to conſider at all. They could n be put off any longer. The inſidious overtur that was to divert *them* from the point, and mak *her* a volunteer in fixing her own infamy, ha been inſtantly thrown back in the face of th propoſers, with all the contempt it merited And Elizabeth had promiſed an anſwer to Mary ſecond requiſition, in two or three days. T ſhew the originals, it is plain, would have bee death to all her hopes. They had been fabr cated, no doubt, with great art. The fabricato

* Goodall, ii. 301. " Quant a la demiſſion de ma couron " Je vous prie de ne me plus empeſcher; car Je ſuis reſolvé " deliberée pluſtoſt mourir que de faire; et le derniere paro " que Je ferons en ma vie, ſera d' une Royne d' Eſcoſſe."

† Ibid. 304.

ha

had been long in the habit of copying the hand-writing of Mary. They could even imitate it ſo exactly, that, as one of Mary's commiſſioners tells us, in her name they had ſent many letters to Elizabeth formerly, which it was difficult to diſtinguiſh from her own. They "WALD not "be kend," he ſays, from them. They *would* not by any common eye be diſtinguiſhed. But they *could* be by thoſe, who were intimately acquainted with her writing. It is impoſſible perhaps to counterfeit any hand ſo preciſely, as that it ſhall not be diſcerned by an attentive and painful collation. Theſe letters had certainly not been framed ſo artfully. Mary could eaſily have pointed out a variety of ſtrokes, in the turn and mould of the characters; which diſcriminated this writing from her own. Even her commiſſioners could have done it likewiſe. And therefore *neither* of them *were permitted to ſee the originals*. Yet Elizabeth was in great diſtreſs about them, at this inſtant. She could not refuſe an inſpection any longer. She could not, however, permit it. In this dilemma, how ſhall ſhe act? Her cunning failed her at this preſſing moment. She could find no further ſubterfuge of delay. She was therefore obliged to have recourſe to her effrontery and her power. SHE SENT THE ORIGINALS AWAY. The *very next day* after the conference above, ſhe made Murray to appear before the privy council, petitioning for leave to go back into Scotland. She granted it. He ſet off. *The originals went with him.* And now an inſpection could neither

be aſked by Mary, nor needed to be refuſed Elizabeth.*

This was ſuch a bare-faced act of evaſi ſuch an open ſtretch of diſhoneſty, ſuch an imp dent defiance of juſtice, as muſt have ſtru every honeſt man in the kingdom who knew with amazement and with horrour. On the 10th January, Murray received permiſſion to dep But he had been haſtily called upon by Eli beth, to petition for the permiſſion. He was prepared for his journey. He therefore appea at court again on the 12th, in order to tak formal leave of the Queen.† Yet he ſtill mained in London. He remained there for leſs than TWELVE days afterward.‡ He h ſeveral things to tranſact. He had particula money to borrow from Elizabeth, in order diſcharge his debts in London, and to defray expences homeward.§ So ſuddenly had he be

* Goodall, ii. 305. Yet Mr. Hume, with an unfeeli temerity of ſpirit, has the boldneſs to aſſert in Hiſt. v. 1 "That they *might* have been examined by Mary's comm "ſioners." With the ſame ſpirit Dr. Robertſon adds, "Th "Elizabeth urged her [Mary] to vindicate her own hono "but *Mary avoided* to make any further progreſs in "inquiry." (i. 492.) Had this been ſaid *before* Mr. Goo publiſhed that continuation of the conference, which And ſon had ſuppreſſed; this falſification of hiſtory, in both th gentlemen, might be aſcribed to *unavoidable ignorance*. now it muſt be aſcribed to——what? Let the reader ſp for me.

† Goodall, ii. 309 and 306.

‡ Goodall, ii. 313—314 and 322. He was at Berwi January 31ſt afterward. See ii. 333. And he actually London the 24th. (Carte iii. 477, from Fenelon's Diſpatch

§ Goodall, ii. 313, and Crawford, 115.

call

called upon by her, to take his journey for Scotland; and ſo unprepared was he for it, at her call! Elizabeth ſaw it requiſite for him and for her, that he and his criminating letters ſhould diſappear at once. He therefore did diſappear. He was now ſuppoſed to be gone for Scotland, with the originals packed up in his cloak-bag. All acceſs to them was barred up effectually by the ſuppoſition. All acceſs would be effectually barred up in fact, by his departure in a few days. An inſpection of the ORIGINALS, therefore, was totally out of the queſtion at preſent.

But Mary's commiſſioners, in their *ſecond* requiſition, had deſired the originals, or *at leaſt* the copies of them, to be delivered. Mary alſo in her inſtructions had condeſcended to aſk for only COPIES of them. Theſe inſtructions had been even ſhewn to Elizabeth.* And in theſe circumſtances, what will Elizabeth do? She has boldly denied all acceſs to the *originals*. But ſhe will certainly grant *copies*. No forgery of handwriting can be detected from *them*. The grand danger of expoſure is therefore removed. And ſhe will readily catch at the opportunity, of colouring over the high enormity of her conduct with reſpect to the originals, by a cheerful allowance of copies.—But the policy of Elizabeth was too cautious, even for this indulgence. Her policy was as deep as her villainy. She would not furniſh Mary, ſhe would not furniſh her commiſſioners, even with *copies*. She begged to *conſider* of *this* requiſition alſo.

* Goodall, ii. 282.

This may ſeem to my reader an unaccountab
hardſhip at firſt view, an injury without a pr
vocation, a refuſal without a reaſon, a mere
of *wanton* cruelty. Cruelty it certainly w
But it was not wantonneſs. Let us vindic
Elizabeth, where we can. Even to grant copi
was dangerous. To withhold them, was nec
ſary. And the whole ſyſtem of Elizabeth
politicks might have been thrown wildly out
its orbit, by the conceſſion.

Mary's firſt wiſh, as I have formerly obſerv
was very properly to inſpect the originals; t
ſhe might expoſe the ſpuriouſneſs of the han
writing. Her next was to have copies, that
might mark the dates, obſerve the circumſtanc
and prove the forgery of the letters from bo
By this mode of examination, Elizabeth
afraid that Mary would have proved her poi
She probably would. Her natural readineſs of a
prehenſion would have been improved, by
intereſt in the cauſe. Her natural clearneſs
conception would have been heightened, by
conviction of the villainy. Her memory a
her papers would have ſupplied her abundant
with circumſtances and dates. And the wh
of that viſionary fabrick muſt in all probabil
have ſunk away before her, as ſhe advanced.
ill-contrived were theſe boaſted evidences of gu
that they could not bear to be examined, ev
through the medium of a copy! At leaſt, *Eli*
beth, who knew them well, thought them ſo. S
therefore reſolved to refuſe Mary, even a c
of them. Yet ſhe could not refuſe it in ter

She had already herſelf pronounced the demand for "inſpection and doubles" to be "very rea-"ſonable." But ſhe had evaded the one before. And ſhe equally evaded the other now.

On the 13th of January, when Murray and the originals were ſtill in London, but *the very day after he and they had formally taken their leave*, ſhe prepared to give the anſwer which ſhe had ſo long withheld. She had now been *twenty* days ſince the firſt requiſition. She had now been *ſix* ſince the ſecond, though ſhe then promiſed an anſwer in two or three. She had taken ample time for *adviſing herſelf* upon the important buſineſs. The firſt requiſition was for a ſight of the originals. The ſecond was for that, or, at the leaſt, the copies of them. But the originals had haſtily withdrawn themſelves from court, the day before. They were now to be ſuppoſed on their way to Scotland. Elizabeth therefore reſolved to give no anſwer concerning *them*. Yet ſhe noticed the requiſition for them. But ſhe anſwered only to the requiſition for *copies*. And *theſe* were *ſtill* to be *withheld*.

Yet even "the lion-port and awe-command-"ing face," which Mr. Gray has given to Elizabeth; or, to ſpeak in a truer and ſoberer ſtyle, the ſternneſs of majeſtick impudence in her; even this could not ſtand the brunt of refuſing *ſuch* a requeſt under *any* pretence. She delegated the daring work to her unbluſhing Cecil. And he ſpoke to Mary's commiſſioners, in the name of his miſtreſs then abſent, and as the voice of her privy council then preſent, in this remark-

able manner. He firſt recapitulated their queſt. This was, he ſaid, " to have the co " of all articlis, preſumptiounis, with the PR " CIPAL writingis producit."* He then rep as immediately from Elizabeth, " that ſcho " not refuis unto the Quene, hir guid ſiſte " give the DOWBILLIS of all that was produci She ſlides off very artfully, we ſee, from primary part of the requiſition, as ſtated by (himſelf; and reſts only on the ſecondary. *this* alſo ſhe had freſh delays. She *would* g it; *but* ſhe muſt previouſly have a promiſe. will have a promiſe under Mary's hand, and Mary's ſignature to it too, in order to aut ticate it more thoroughly. Yet what is this miſe to be? It is to be no leſs, than that M ſhould do—what?—that ſhe ſhould do what was moſt earneſt and importunate to do; ſhe was at this very moment preſſing Eliza to enable her to do, by a ſight of the paper that *ſhe ſhould anſwer to the charges in t* " Scho will have a ſpecial writing ſent be " Quene of Scottis, her guid ſiſter, ſignet " her awin hand, promiſing that ſcho will " ſwer to the ſamin writings and things lai " her charge, but [without] ony exception."†

The commiſſioners of Mary, aſtoniſhed at a delay at the cloſe of all the others, remonſtr with her repreſentative upon the poorneſs pettineſs of it; as ſhe had already received *a promiſe* in *ſuch a form*, no leſs than *t*

* Goodall, ii. 310. † Ibid. ibid. ‡ Ibid. 310—

"The ſamin appears not to be neceſſarie," they replied, "in reſpect of TWA ſeveral writingis "SCHAWIN and read in preſence of hir Majeſtie "and hir counſal, ſubſcrivit with hir [Mary's] "awin hand AND UNDER HIR SIGNET, quhairof "the extract was deliverit to the Quene's Ma-"jeſtie of England, in the quhilk SCHO OFFERIT "TO MAK ANSWER upon certane conditiounis "thairin expremit, *ſwa being ſcho may have the "writingis or at leiſt the copies of thame.*"* Elizabeth, or her Cecil, did not pretend to aſſert the inſufficiency of theſe promiſes in themſelves. Why then ſhould they be repeated? Elizabeth had already ſeen them, not only ſubſcribed by Mary's own hand, but alſo certified by Mary's own ſeal. Why then ſhould ſhe aſk for another, that was to be only ſubſcribed? For this reaſon.

She pretended to believe, at preſent, that the original commiſſion from Mary to theſe her commiſſioners, was terminated by an act of theirs ſome time before. "The Quene's Majeſtie," ſays Cecil, "deſyris to have ſic a writing of the "Quene's Majeſty zour maiſtres, *becauſe* ſcho "underſtandis that zour commiſſioun quhilk ze "had is expyrit, ſen ze did diſcharge the con-"ference at Weſtminſter."† This was done by them on the 6th of December before.‡ But this was two days *previous* to the production of the letters. And Elizabeth had been acting with them UNDER THAT VERY COMMISSION, repeat-

* Goodall, ii. 311. † Ibid. ibid. ‡ Ibid. 227.

edly ſince. This we have ſufficiently ſeen before, in their two demands for a ſight of the originals or for copies of them, in their ſhewing their ſpecial inſtructions to her, in their delivering her an extract from them, and in her promiſe of an anſwer to both. So paltry, even from Elizabeth's own principles and practices, does this evaſion of Elizabeth's appear.

But ſhe had alſo another. Let us attend to it. Perhaps it may be a more dignified reaſon. It may at leaſt carry more the ſemblance of a reaſon.

She equally pretended to think, that, by their laſt inſtructions from Mary, they were only authorized to *call* for the papers, but not to *anſwer* them. She deſired to have ſuch a writing, ſays Cecil, "becauſe ſcho underſtandis that be zour "laſt writingis ze reſſavit, [ze] have powar to "require the copies of the writingis, bot not to "mak anſwer."* But what were the laſt inſtructions ſent them by Mary? They were theſe; "Ze ſall require our ſaid guid ſiſter, that copies "be gevin zou thairof, *to the effect*, that THAY "MAY BE ANSWERIT particularlie."† Theſe *very inſtructions*, in theſe *very terms* too, *were delivered* by the commiſſioners to Elizabeth on the 8th of January, only *five* days before. And on the 7th of January they declared to her, "That "they had preſentlie reſſavit writingis fra the "Quene's Majeſtie of Scotland, thair Soverane, "be the quhilkis they were of new commandit

* Goodall, ii. 311. † Ibid. 298—299.

"to ſignifie unto hir Majeſtie, that SCHO WOULD "ANSWER to the calumnious accuſation of hir "ſubjectis,—and THAIRFOIR deſirit the writingis "producit,—or, at the leiſt, the copies thairof, "to be deliverit unto thame, that THAIR MAIS-"TRES MIGHT FULLY ANSWER THAIRTO."* Yet Elizabeth now pretends to believe, and preſumes by the mouth of Cecil to ſay, that, "by "their laſt writings received," they "had pow-"er to require the copies of the writings, but "not to make anſwer." She therefore wanted to have a promiſe of anſwering from Mary. But they were inſtructed by Mary to call for the papers, under *an expreſs promiſe* of replying to them. They were inſtructed by her to call for them, *that* ſhe might reply to them. And ſhe and they in the ſolemneſt manner promiſed, that ſhe would make, and they would preſent, *a full and particular reply*. So much more paltry, if poſſible, is *this* reaſon than the other!

Elizabeth, indeed, muſt have been *now* reduced to the greateſt difficulties. She would otherwiſe *not* have reſted delays, ſo neceſſary to her purpoſes, upon props ſo rotten as theſe. They ſerve, therefore, to point out to us in the ſtrongeſt manner that extremity of diſtreſs, in which ſhe was labouring and ſtruggling at this moment. They ſerve to give an uniformity of meanneſs, and a conſiſtency of falſehood, to all her actions. And at the cloſe of them let me hope, for the credit of that beſt part of Elizabeth,

* Goodall, ii. 297.

her

her head, that theſe were the paltrieſt eluſion which this eluſive princeſs ever made uſe of, all the doublings of her crooked policy.*

§ III.

WHEN firſt the pretended proofs of the guilt of Mary were laid before the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, Elizabeth and her counſellors were very ready to promiſe Mary a ſight of the letters. They knew a ſight of them to be neceſſary for her replying to them. They would not pretend to think her guilty, becauſe ſhe did not reply; and yet at the ſame time preclude her from all poſſibility of replying. They would not be ſo much worſe than inquiſitors in this. They would not ſhew themſelves ſo loſt to all ſenſe of decency, all feeling of ſhame, and all fear of God.† But alas! what could they do to Mary?

* Mr. Hume himſelf aſſerts this conduct of Elizabeth, to be "a final refuſal" of all copies to Mary. (v. 152.) Yet, inconſiſtent with himſelf, as well as contradictory to facts, in the ſame ſpirit which I have been obliged to reprehend before, and to the equal amazement (I doubt not) of all my readers, he has the boldneſs to affirm, that Murray "gave Mary her-"ſelf an opportunity of refuting and expoſing him" in the production of the letters, "if ſhe had choſen to lay hold of "it;" (v. 147) when ſhe was debarred all inſpection of the originals herſelf, when ſhe was debarred all inſpection by her commiſſioners, and when (according to Mr. Hume himſelf) ſhe and they were equally debarred from all copies. It is to the diſgrace of our national probity, more than of our national judgment, that ſuch facts have met with ſuch advocates.

† Yet Cecil is all this, in Goodall, ii. 296, when, in a paper drawn up by himſelf, and dated Jan. 7th, he ſays, "the Queen "of

Mary's commiſſioners had unluckily taken a ſtep, which the Queen and the Queen's miniſters could not but ſuppoſe to have diſſolved their commiſſion. They were merely "ſervitors" now "to the Scottiſh Queen," and not "commiſſioners" from her.* Elizabeth therefore could not *ſhew the papers* to them, or call for an *anſwer* from them. If it had not been for this grand obſtacle to the buſineſs, ſhe would *inſtantly* have *laid all the evidences before them.* But, as it was, ſhe muſt call upon Mary herſelf to anſwer. And, if ſhe will *promiſe* to anſwer, ſhe ſhall have *every information that is requiſite.*

This is the very language of fairneſs. Theſe are the very ſentiments of honour. Nor can their exiſtence be doubted. They are recorded in the journals of the privy council. They are recorded as ſuggeſted to Elizabeth. They are recorded as ſpoken by her. "If the ſayd Biſhop "and his colleagues," ſays a ſpeech framed by the privy council for Elizabeth concerning Mary's commiſſioners, "had not, *as it is ſuppoſed*, diſ-"ſolved their commiſſion by Scottiſh proteſta-"tions, whereby they have not, *as it is thought*, "now any authoritie to make anſwer therto, "THEY SHULD BE MADE PRIVIE TO THE SAYD "EVIDENCES AND PROOFS, WHERBY hir Ma-"jeſtie might have of them ſome good anſwer." This addreſs was to be made directly to the

"of Scots doth not *anſwer* to the crime of murdering her "huſband."

* Goodall, ii. 252.

com-

commiſſioners themſelves. Elizabeth "ther
"fore wiſheth, that they wold advertiſe th
"Quene their miſtreſs of thus much." An
"if it ſhall pleaſe hir to gyve *autheritie* to an
"hir *commiſſionars* to *anſwer the ſame*, or other
"wiſe *to anſwer the ſame hirſelf*,—hir Majeſt
"will be right glad thereof, and will *for the*
"*purpoſe* CAUSE EXPEDITION TO BE MADE o
"ANY THYNG THERTO REQUISIT."* And Eli
zabeth herſelf actually told the commiſſioners t
the ſame purport, on the 16th of December fo
lowing; That "hir Majeſty would CAUSE TH
"SAME MATTERS TO BE OPPENED AND DISCO
"VERED TO HIR," Mary, "*if ſo* that ſhe wold b
"content to agree to make direct anſwer ther
"to;—hir Majeſty thinking it always *very n*
"*ceſſarie for hir to make anſwer*: for otherwil
"whoſoever ſhould adviſe hir to forbeare mak
"yng anſwer, *having ſo many ways to do the ſam*
"only becauſe ſhe might not come to hir Ma
"jeſty's preſence, howſoever they ſhould ſeem
"and appeare to be good ſervants for hir, ſurel
"they ſhould rather be thought and judged fo
"ſome other reſpects to *betray* hir;—neithe
"could ſhe fynd *how the Quene ſhould mor*
"*redely procure hir condemnation, than to refu*
"*to anſwer*."†

Such is the upper ſide of the card! But l
us now look at the under.

* Goodall, ii. 253—254. † Ibid. 263—264.

Befor

Before Mary could receive an account of this addreſs to her commiſſioners, only three days after it, and on the 19th of December,* ſhe had ſent freſh inſtructions to them. She ordered them to wait upon Elizabeth, to promiſe her an anſwer, and to require a ſight of the letters. They did ſo accordingly. They ſhewed alſo their inſtructions. They equally delivered an abſtract of them. Elizabeth ſaw the one, and received the other. She declared the requeſt for the papers to be "very reaſonable." She declared herſelf "verie glad, that her guid ſiſter "wald mak anſwer IN THAT MANNER for de-"fence of her honour."† And ſhe and her commiſſioners received from them, *expreſsly as commiſſioners*, an anſwer to Murray's previous

* That Mary could not have received an account of this addreſs then, might be left very ſafely to reſt upon its own evidence. But I ſhall mention two facts, that prove it. On the 22nd of December, 1568, Lord Boyd left London, on a particular meſſage from Elizabeth to Mary. (ii. 278.) How long then was he in going? He was no leſs than *ſix* days. He reached Mary on the 27th. (ii. 314.) And we may additionally obſerve, that this very diſpatch of Mary's, which was dated the 19th, was not received till the 24th; (ii. 280—281) being juſt as many days in going from Bolton Caſtle to London, as Lord Boyd was in going from London to Bolton Caſtle. The latter was not the town of that name in Lancaſhire, which was never honoured with the reſidence of Mary; but "a caſtle of the Lord Scroop's in the edge of Yorkſhire "next Cumberland," (Cabala, 1ſt pt. 138) which is mentioned by Leland (i. 90, v. 117—118, and viii. 13 and 18—19) and by Camden. (919—920, Gibſon, edit. 3d.) It lies between Aſcrig and Middleham, near the Ure, far from Cumberland, but not far from Weſtmorland.

† Goodall, ii. 281—282.

proteſ-

proteſtation; the anſwer beginning thus: "W
"THE COMMISSIONARIS for our Soverane La
"the Quene's Majeſtie of Scotland, do lay a
"propound befoir zour honorabill Lordſhips
&c.* Elizabeth therefore is now ſatisfi
The "commiſſion" is *not* "diſſolved." A
"thoughts" and "ſuppoſitions" that it was, a
now removed. Mary has "given authority
"her commiſſioners to anſwer." They hav
already begun to anſwer. They have alread
anſwered all the papers, that have been commu
nicated to them. And they now call for *th*
letters, that they may anſwer *them*. Mary is
much convinced as Elizabeth was, that it
"very neceſſary for her to make anſwer," an
that ſhe could not "more readily procure he
"condemnation, than by refuſing to anſwer."
Her commiſſioners, therefore, will now "b
"made privie to the evidences and proofs
"whereby" they may be enabled to anſwer. Eli
zabeth will now "for that purpoſe cauſe *expedi*
"*tion* to be made of *any thing* thereto requiſite."
And ſhe will inſtantly "cauſe the ſame matter
"to be *opened* and *diſcovered*" to them.

Such is the figure that we fancy we ſhall fin
below, when we turn up the card! But alas
deſſous des cartes, we find a very different appear
ance. We expected a QUEEN, and we meet wit
a KNAVE.

The "expedition," that was here before,
now all vaniſhed. The "any thing," that w

* Goodall, ii. 289—282.

to be produced, is now transformed into "no-"thing." Elizabeth *begs to be adviſed* concerning *the performance of her own promiſe.* She wants time to conſider, whether ſhe ſhall grant what *ſhe has already offered*, what *ſhe has offered with earneſtneſs*, what ſhe has *almoſt obtruded* upon the commiſſioners in her *zeal* for Mary. She is debating and debating with herſelf, for ſeveral, for many, for fourteen days, whether ſhe ſhall allow what ſhe has already *pronounced* to be *abſolutely neceſſary* to the *making* of Mary's *anſwer*, and *abſolutely neceſſary* to the *maintenance* of Mary's *honour*. At the end of that long period of conſultation, ſhe is ſtill not reſolved. Her conſultation has ended as it began. She is not yet able to give an anſwer, though ſhe was ſo prompt with her proffer before. Her mind now requires to be *impelled* into deciſiveneſs on a point, on which the weakeſt could hardly allow itſelf to waver, and the wickedeſt would be almoſt aſhamed to heſitate.

The old requiſition, therefore, is reinforced by a new one, on the 7th of January. Yet even this cannot give direction to that balancing tide, which lately ran ſo rapidly one way. Elizabeth ſtill wants two or three days more. She takes them. She takes *ſix*. On the fourth day, the commiſſioners of Mary remind her of their requiſition. They tell her before all her council, and before Murray and all his aſſociates in vice, That they had already offered, in their miſtreſs's name, "to anſwer to all the calum-"nies alledgit or producit aganis hir, SWA

"BEING

" BEING that ſcho might have the copies of t
" pretendit writingis given in, quhilkis thay ha
" DIVERSE TYMES REQUIRIT of the *Quene's M.*
" *jeſtie* and hir *counſal*, ſuppois [though] TH
" HAVE NOT AS ZIT OBTENIT THE SAMIN; a
" HOW SONE that thay reſſavit the copies thair
" *ſcho wald anſwer thairto.*"* This was a ve
ſharp rebuke from theſe tongues of Mary's en
ploying. Elizabeth reſolves to reply to the
repeated requiſition, two days afterward. B
even then ſhe cannot yet grant—what ſhe h
declared it very reaſonable to aſk, what ſhe h
pronounced it very neceſſary to grant, what ſl
has repeatedly inſiſted upon Mary's aſking, an
her granting to her. She has ſtrange ſcrupl
about her *now*. She lately uſed all the violen
of expoſtulation and remonſtrance, to make Ma
promiſe an anſwer. Mary has promiſed on
Mary has promiſed one in the fulleſt and mo
formal manner. Yet Elizabeth is ſtill afrai
that ſhe will not anſwer. She has promiſ
indeed. She has done all that Elizabeth aſke
her to do. But Elizabeth wants her *now* to c
more. Elizabeth wants her to promiſe agai
Will one promiſe, then, be more binding th
another? And was any promiſe neceſſary
all? Certainly not. If Mary did *not* anſwer, b
cauſe ſhe was refuſed admittance to the preſen
of Elizabeth; however reaſonable the dema
might be for admittance, the world of hal
judging fools would undoubtedly have co

* Goodall, ii. 308.

demn

demned her as guilty. *This* Elizabeth ſuggeſted to her. *This* Mary knew without the ſuggeſtion. *This* therefore ſuperſeded the neceſſity of any promiſe. It was a ſtronger bond of obligation upon Mary, than all the promiſes which Elizabeth could have demanded from her. Yet Elizabeth hoped and truſted, that ſhe would *not* anſwer. She therefore, in the uſual tenour of her conduct, urged and preſſed her to do—what ſhe was ſtill perſuaded ſhe would *not* do. She held out the criminating papers to her in one hand. She brandiſhed the rod of infamy in the other. She called, ſhe adjured, ſhe threatened, to make her take the former. Unconſcious of all this, Mary had reſolved to *aſk* for them. She did aſk. Then the hands were haſtily withdrawn. The rod was flung away. The papers were pocketted. And Mary was caſt off with a *ſecond* offer, of ſeeing them when her commiſſioners had *that* authority to act, which Elizabeth herſelf previouſly acknowledged them to have; and when ſhe herſelf had promiſed to do, *what* ſhe had already promiſed twice, and *what* in common ſenſe ſhe needed not to have promiſed at all.

I have gone over this curious manœuvre of Elizabeth's ſo particularly, in order to ſhew her in all her ſhifting attitudes of meanneſs to her wild admirers. I choſe to reſtrain my reſentments. I thought it better to ridicule than to brand. I know not, whether *that* may not be a ſeverer puniſhment than *this*. It was certainly more agreeable to myſelf. But I muſt now pro-

ceed to two or three other points. And I ſha
then reſign up Elizabeth to all her merited ir
famy, for the preſent.

§ IV.

WHEN Elizabeth, on the 10th of Januar
gave Murray permiſſion to depart into Scotlan
and when, on the 12th, ſhe took a formal lea
of him in her privy council; ſhe not only ſe
off the originals far from any inſpection of M
ry's or of her commiſſioners, but ſhe alſo *put a*
abſolute end to the whole inquiſition. When Murr
appeared in the privy council on the 10th, h
came with all his brother-commiſſioners; wi
all that he himſelf, in the pretended name
the infant ſon of Mary, had commiſſioned
act with him in the buſineſs. "The Erle
Murray," ſays the regiſter of Mary, "AND H
"COMPLICES, came before the Quene's Majeſtie
"counſal of Ingland." Then Cecil ſpoke to the
thus: "Quhairas the Erle of Murray, AN
"HIS ADHERENTIS cum in this realm, at th
"deſire of the Quene's Majeſtie of Ingland,
"ANSWER TO SIC THINGIS AS THE QUENE THAI
"SOVERANE OBJECTIT AGANIS THAME AND THAI
"ALLEDGEANCES; hir Majeſtie thinketh me
"not to reſtrain any farder the ſaid Erle AND H
"ADHERENTIS libertie, bot ſuffer him and than
"at thair pleſour to depart, relinquiſhing than
"in the ſamin ſtait in the quhilk thay wer
"befoir the cuming within this realme, *till ſe*
"*heir farder of the Quene of Scotland's* ANSWER
"

"ſic things as has been *alledgit aganis hir.*"* So alſo on the 12th, ſays the ſame regiſter, "the "Erle of Murray, and ALL his adherentis, came "to the preſence of the Quene's Majeſtie of "Ingland, and gat licence to depart into Scot-"land."† There they were to ſtay, *till* Elizabeth heard farther of Mary's anſwer. But Elizabeth took care, that Mary ſhould never put in any anſwer at all, by withholding the letters from her. They were therefore remitted into Scotland, *ad Græcas calendas*, or for ever. And the inquiſition was to all intents and purpoſes eventually broken up, by this violent act.

Theſe commiſſioners had been conſtituted, in order "to convene with the commiſſionaris and "deputis of the Quene of England, at the Citie "of York, *or any other place or placis* they ſhall "think convenient, and thair to make plane and "ample declaratioun to thame, for information "of our ſaid guid ſiſter, of the" &c. "with all "cauſis" &c. "that hereefter ſal fall out, UNTO "THE RETURN OF OUR SAIDIS COMMISSIONA-"RIS."‡ They had accordingly appeared at York and at Weſtminſter. There, from accuſed perſons, they were allowed to become accuſers. They put in their charge of murder againſt Mary. *Mary's commiſſioners received a copy of the charge.* They next produced their pretended authorities for the charge, in producing the letters. Mary's commiſſioners required to *ſee* theſe alledged handwritings of their Queen. *But they*

* Goodall, ii. 305. † Ibid. 309. ‡ Ibid. 120.

were not allowed. They again required to ſee them. *They were ſtill not allowed.* They then required to have *copies* only. They promiſed, if they might only have *copies*, to anſwer *fully* and *particularly* to the letters. *Yet they were ſtill not allowed.* And Elizabeth, hard-preſſed with their requiſitions, ſent off the originals in a hurry to Scotland, and diſpatched the managers of the accuſation with them. From that moment, there was a final concluſion to the whole buſineſs. The return of the rebel commiſſioners into Scotland, *vacated their commiſſion expreſsly.*

But, even if it had not, who was now left to manage the accuſation? Murray, and all the other commiſſioners on the accuſing ſide, were gone. In their abſence, how could the accuſation proceed? They had brought their charge. They had produced their proofs. They had done no more. The great and important work of inſpecting, of examining, and of replying to the charge and the proofs, was ſtill behind. Mary is called upon with all the vehemence of zeal, to do this. She ſteps forward to do it — *Then* the originals are immediately withdrawn — All inſpection is now at an end. Yet examination and reply are ſtill open. She ſteps forward to examine. *Then* the copies are refuſed. All reply is thus precluded. But, as copies cannot be poſitively refuſed for ever; as it is proper to promiſe at preſent, and may be perhaps neceſſary to grant hereafter; a ſure and deciſive ſtroke of preclusion ſhall be played, before the promiſe, ſhuffling and unmeaning as it is, may with ſafety be

be given. *The rebel commiſſioners ſhall be ſent in an inſtant away.* Then, if Mary ſhould at laſt overcome every pretence of delay by every compliance with requiſitions, if Elizabeth ſhould be forced at laſt to concede what ſhe had ſo long withheld, and if Mary ſhould pretend to diſprove the dates and the circumſtances of the letters; yet who was there to *rejoin* to her?

Who indeed was there to *receive* her reply before? Not the commiſſioners of Elizabeth. *They* were equally *annihilated* with the rebel commiſſioners, by the departure of theſe into Scotland. And *their* commiſſion was equally terminated by the act. Their *firſt* commiſſion, that for the conference at York, ran in theſe terms. "I having," ſays Elizabeth, "ſent and required them of the "other part, which profeſs their obedience to "hir [Mary's] ſon the Prince, that ſome of the "principal of them would come into our realme, "*to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be on the behalfe of our ſaid ſiſter objected againſt them*;— "do make, conſtitute, and ordaine Thomas," &c. "*to commune, treat, and conclude, with "James Erle of Murray, and all others of the "realme of Scotland, that ſhall come into our "realme.*"* Their *ſecond* commiſſion alſo, that for the conference at Weſtminſter, gives them authority in the ſame language, "*to hear, com-"mune, treate, order, and conclude,*—with the "commiſſioners and deputies of the Quene of "Scotts, *and alſo with the ſaid Erle of Murray*

* Goodall, ii. 95—96.

"*and all others authorized with him in com*
"*ſion.*"* And the diſmiſſion of Murray
his brethren into Scotland, which in an inſt
extinguiſhed the conference, in the ſame inſt
extinguiſhed the authority of Elizabeth's co
miſſioners too.

Elizabeth knew, that all this would be
conſequence of ſending away the commiſſio
of either ſide. She had therefore refuſed to
Mary's depart before. Theſe had taken a
lent diſguſt at the groſs partiality of Elizab
in ſuffering the baſtard Murray to appear
court with his recriminating accuſations, w
ſhe, the original accuſer and a Queen, was k
at a diſtance and in priſon; and at that affe
prudery of Elizabeth, which was ſurely the
quinteſſence of hypocriſy in her, and made
fearful ſhe ſhould diſhonour and diſgrace
ſooth! the virgin purity of her own charac
if ſhe admitted Mary to her preſence. T
therefore wiſhed to terminate the confere
and to return home. But ſhe would not ſu
them to ſtir. She continued the conferenc
ſpite of their proteſtations. She kept ther
London in ſpite of their petitions. And
would not conſent, ſhe ſaid, that "any of t
"ſhould depart into Scotland BEFOIR THE
"OF THIS CONFERENCE."† Yet now, now,

* Goodall, ii. 191.

† Ibid. 269. Mary alſo thought the conference wou
at an end, by her commiſſioners leaving London. Se
addreſs accordingly, not about Jan. 18, 1569, as Gooda
325, dates it: but about December 18, 1568, as p. 280–
314, "laitlie," 327, "fixth of *this* moneth," and 328 ſh
ſo

found it neceſſary for the *rebel commiſſioners* to do, what ſhe would not permit Mary's to do before.

She had foreſeen the neceſſity from the beginning. She had even provided for it. She knew from the beginning, that the letters would not bear an inſpection, even by the dim light of a copy. She had therefore determined they ſhould not be ſeen at all, by Mary or by Mary's commiſſioners. She had reſolved, if Mary ſhould call for them, to "whiſtle them off, and let them "down the wind" at once. It was accordingly entered in the journal of her privy council, *even ſo early as the* 30th *of October before*, that "*after* "the meſſengers of Scotland SHALL HAVE SHEW-"ED THAIR PROVES,—it is thought good, the "Erle of Murray *ſhould* BE LICENSED TO RE-"PAYRE HOME."* So early did Elizabeth draw out the great outline of her own conduct in this buſineſs! So long was Murray's departure determined, before the day he was particularly ordered to depart! Murray indeed had put in his proofs on the 8th of December, about five weeks before. But a proſpect of terminating the whole more happily than had been expected at firſt, had *then* preſented itſelf to the mind of Elizabeth. The commiſſioners of Mary had proteſted, that they would proceed no further in the conference. Elizabeth readily caught at this. She haſtened the production of the proofs. She called upon the commiſſioners, ſhe called upon Mary; ſhe threatened her, ſhe bullied them;

* Goodall, ii. 182.

for an anſwer. She had now all the game in her own hands. And ſhe meant to play it triumphantly, in a continued refuſal from Mary to anſwer, and in a conſequent conviction of her guilt upon the minds of all. Then the plan of October the 30th would have been entirely deſerted. Murray and his brethren would have remained in London, waiting for the anſwer, and rejoicing in the delay. Elizabeth would have ſtill gone on for weeks probably, exhorting Mary, exhorting her commiſſioners, inſinuating to her that ſhe was betrayed by them, inſinuating to them that they were deceived by her, and ſo blazoning more and more the ſilence and the ſhame of Mary. At laſt probably, it would have been recorded in the journal of the commiſſioners, or the books of the privy council, or on both, that the charge was ſufficiently ratified by the ſilence. Mary would have been put down as a wilful mute. And the *peine forte et dure* of publick infamy would have been pronounced againſt her. But alas! this hopeful view was ſoon loſt. Mary ſaw the deſigns of Elizabeth. She counteracted them. She came forward to anſwer. She called for a ſight of the letters, that ſhe might anſwer. She called for them repeatedly. She called for them loudly. She was earneſt to have them. She was eager to anſwer them. And Elizabeth was compelled to recur to her original purpoſe, to ſend away the letters, to ſend away the producers, even to ſuperadd to all formal acquittal of Mary from the charge,* and

* Goodall, ii. 305.

ſ

ſo to ſweep away the commiſſions and the conferences, the charge, the proofs, and the reply, with one indignant ſtroke of her hand.

§ v.

WHEN this inquiſition was firſt begun, Elizabeth had expreſsly and ſolemnly declared to the rebels themſelves, her reſolution to reſtore Mary to the royalty from which ſhe had been driven by them, unleſs ſhe was proved guilty of the murder of her huſband. She therefore ſpeaks thus in her commiſſion for the conference at York: "If her Majeſtie ſhall find it to be "PLAINLY AND MANIFESTLY PROVED, that the "ſaid Quene of Scots was the deviſer and pro-"curer of that murder, or otherwiſe was guilty "thereof, ſurely her Majeſtie would *think her* "*unworthy of a kingdom*, and wold not ſtayne her "own conſcience *by reſtoring her to a kingdom.*"* Her commiſſioners, alſo, ſpeak in the very ſame terms to Murray at York.† And Cecil, in one of his wily projects upon paper dated the 22nd. of December afterwards, ſays thus in alluſion to both: "Her Majeſtie did reſolve, and ſo *cauſed to* "*be pronounced to the Earl of Murray*, at the "*beginning* of *this* conference, that *if the Queen* "*of Scots ſhould* NOT be found APPARENTLY "guilty of the murder, SHE SHOULD BE RE-"STORED TO HER ESTATE."‡ Accordingly Mary, independently of Elizabeth's unconditional promiſe to herſelf, and with only the natural ſanguineneſs of conſcious innocence, might well

* Goodall, ii. 99. † Ibid. 127. ‡ Ibid. 275.

imagine

imagine ſhe ſhould be immediately reſtored
the arms of Elizabeth to her crown. She ex
ſhewed this imagination, in the formality of
commiſſion for the conference. "Foraſameik
"as it hath pleaſit," ſays ſhe, "the Quer
"Majeſtie of England,—to take upon her
"RESTORING OF US TO OUR REALME AND AUTH
"RITIE," &c.* Such was the expectation of M
ry, and ſuch were the good grounds upon whicl
was built!

But what was the reſult? *Was* Mary reſto
to her kingdom? Or was ſhe found *apparen*
guilty, and the murder *plainly and manifeſtly* pro
ed upon her? She was certainly *not* found *app*
rently guilty. The murder was certainly *not* pro
plainly and manifeſtly upon her. Indeed the proc
of inquiry had gone no farther, than barely to
in the pretended charge, and to *ſhew* the pretenc
proofs. The proofs were then withdrawn. All c
and ſteady examination of them, even by the *jud*
themſelves, was prevented. They refuſed indi
to be ſubmitted to the examination of any o
They were properly, therefore, no proofs at
They would not be examined in perſon. Th
would not be examined by repreſentation.
this mode of conducting the buſineſs, and fr
this iſſue to the whole inquiry, nothing w
nothing could be proved, except the flimſin
of the accuſation. If Mary had been ne
ſo guilty, ſhe could never have been ſhewn gui
by ſuch a mode of procedure as this. But,
I have hinted more than once before, ſuch

* Goodall, ii. 118—119.

mode would never have been adopted, if ſhe had been actually guilty. Murray was glad to eſcape from his own accuſation, with his originals not openly detected to be forgeries. Elizabeth was pleaſed to terminate the whole conference abruptly, rather than ſuffer Mary to ſee, to detect, and to expoſe, the forged evidences againſt her. And ſhe was even willing to ſubſcribe to Mary's innocence, *before* Mary had an opportunity to ſhew it by making a reply.

In the very moments, in which ſhe licenſed Murray and his aſſociates to depart into Scotland, ſhe pronounced the ſentence of Mary's acquittal. She made her grand organ of buſineſs, Cecil, to ſpeak it in the preſence *of all her privy council.* To "the Erle of Murray and his "adherents" he ſaid, by the command of Elizabeth, and *in the name of her council,* That "thair "had bene nathing ſufficientlie producit nor "ſchawin be thame aganis the Quene thair ſo-"verane, QUHAIRBY the Quene of Ingland SOULD "CONCEAVE OR TAK ONY EVIL OPINION OF "THE QUENE, hir guid ſiſter, for ony thing zit "ſene."*

Nor can this be conſidered as equally a flouriſh of policy, with that juſtification of Murray, which was pronounced at the ſame time and by the ſame lips. The latter runs in the following terms: "Thair has bene nathing de-"ducit aganis thame, as zit, that may impair "thair honour or alledgeances."† This is evi-

* Goodall, ii. 305. † Ibid. ibid.

dently

dently in a much fainter tone than the other The circumſtances alſo are totally different. Elizabeth would naturally be inclined to pay compliments to Murray, at the expence of truth Her inclination lay juſt the contrary way towards Mary. She was likewiſe urged powerfully by the neceſſity of her affairs, to juſtify Murray in order to diſmiſs him. She had no ſuch urgency from the ſide of Mary. And Mary had yet produced no evidence againſt Murray, while he had produced her own handwriting, as he pretended, againſt her. Under all theſe circumſtances, the juſtification of Murray ſtands upon ground totally different from the vindication of Mary. The latter indeed was plainly wrung from the hard and ſavage heart of Elizabeth, by the violence of her convictions, and the preſſure of her affairs, uniting together at the time.

Elizabeth thus pronounced Mary's innocence from the charge brought againſt her. Elizabeth thus declared Mary's honour, to be noways ſullied by the imputations thrown out againſt her. She affirmed, that ſhe had no reaſon "to conceive or "take any evil opinion of her for any thing yet ſeen." This is the ampleſt vindication of Mary, that could poſſibly be given. It comes from her enemy, her political, her perſonal, enemy. It comes from the confederate, the confidante, and the maintainer, of her uſurping rebels. It comes from her, *after* ſhe has been trafficking with them long in miſchief, in forgery, in every ſpecies of artful villainy. And it comes from

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her, even *after* ſhe has heard all their charge, and even *after* ſhe has ſeen all their evidences of adultery and murder againſt her.

But did Elizabeth *reſtore* her after all? Mary is not only NOT found apparently guilty. The murder is not only NOT proved plainly and manifeſtly upon her. But ſhe is even pronounced innocent and unſullied by the mouth of her enemy and her judge, at the cloſe of all that this enemy and this judge would ſuffer to be tranſacted. She muſt therefore be certainly reſtored. She has a right to it, from the fundamental principles of the whole inquiry. She has a double right to it, from Elizabeth's full declaration of her innocence.

She may have a *right*. But ſhe will not gain the *poſſeſſion*. Elizabeth might be brought to *confeſs* a great truth at a particular moment, from the *violence* and *torture* of diſtreſs. Yet ſhe is not one *iota* an honeſter woman, than ſhe has always been before. The grandeſt criminals have done the ſame in ſimilar circumſtances. And if inſtantly releaſed from the rack, would *they* have begun to act honeſtly? Elizabeth had held out the lure of reſtoration, to draw Mary into the trial. She thought of it no more, when this was over. She not only did NOT reſtore her. She even ſent the uſurper of her throne away, with a promiſe to maintain his authority, and with *a loan of five thouſand pounds* to ſtrengthen him in it.* She even kept Mary in priſon ſtill.

* Goodall, ii. 306 and 313.

She

She even kept her under a ſtricter confinem there. She thus left her rebels, to exult in t ſucceſs of their confederacy with Elizabeth, a to triumph in the equal congeniality of Eli beth's and their ſouls for miſchief. And, i few years afterward, ſhe ſtepped out deciſiv from behind the line of artful profligacy, to wh ſhe had chiefly confined herſelf hitherto; beca as violent now, as ſhe had been perfidious b fore; ſo united the two extremes of human pr fligacy in her own conduct; and wildly bath her hands, at laſt, in the life-blood of Mary.

§ VI.

BUT, to complete the parts of this en mous whole, I muſt add one thing more. It this. Not content to mangle the fine perſon Mary with the murderous axe, Elizabeth ev proceeded to a ſtill greater exceſs of guilt. S exerted all the arts of Hell, to mangle her rep tation alſo.

She had totally prevented Mary from ma ing any reply to the letters produced againſt h by refuſing her all ſight of them at one tim and by cloſing abruptly the whole inquiſition another. Yet ſhe herſelf had been compelle at a particular moment, to pronounce the eul gium of her innocence. She acquitted her fro every ſhade of diſhonour, that had been ſo vi lently attempted to be thrown over the luſtre her character by the letters. And, in leſs th three years afterwards, ſhe *publiſhed thoſe v letters*, in order to eclipſe her character for ev

She publiſhed them as *proofs* of *adultery*, as *proofs* of *murder*, againſt her. She publiſhed them as proofs *ſubſtantiated at the time*. And, with the malignant induſtry of the Arch-fiend himſelf, ſhe circulated them over the iſland and over the continent.

This is ſuch a crowning addition to all the flagitiouſneſs of Elizabeth before, and gives her ſuch a horrible pre-eminence in guilt; that juſtice ought not to believe it even of her, without a large ſhare of evidence for it. This therefore ſhall be given. And it ſhall be fully given.

The original letters were now gone back to their native north. But copies of them were ſtill in London. They were only with Elizabeth, however. They had indeed been delivered to her commiſſioners. Yet in ſuch a government as Elizabeth's, where the genius of the Queen, and the habits of the people, threw a controling awe over all the departments of the ſtate; they were properly ſtill in the cuſtody of Elizabeth. And in a few days after that delivery, as I have already ſhewn, the very exiſtence of the commiſſioners ceaſed, and all their papers would be then removed into Cecil's office. The letters were even delivered at firſt into, and ever afterwards continued in, the hands of Cecil himſelf, as at once a commiſſioner and the ſecretary. "The copies of all quhilk letteris," ſays Murray in ſome inſtructions written about nine months afterwards, being "conferrit, red, and conſiderit, "wer *deliverit to Mr. Secretary*, in *quhais handis* "*thay*

" *thay remane.*"* So completely were the from their firſt production before the comm ſioners, in the poſſeſſion of Elizabeth and und the care of Cecil. But from that poſſeſſion a that care they eloped to the preſs. She ther fore ordered, and he executed, the publication them.

Accordingly, Cecil himſelf appears particula active in diſperſing them, and in diſperſing the even among the French, immediately after the publication here. In a letter of his to Walſinghar our embaſſadour in France, which is dated t 1ſt of November, 1571, he ſays thus to hin " Having this preſent occaſion to ſend two of n " Lord of Oxford's men to Paris, at his Lor " ſhip's requeſt; I thought good alſo therewi " to ſend to you THIS LITTLE TREATISE new " printed in Latin," Buchanan's Detection, which were inſerted *ſome* of the principal letter " in commending or diſcommending the Que " of Scots *actions to further her marriage wi* " *Bothwell.* I hear it is to be tranſlated in " Engliſh, with addition of many other ſuppl " ments of like condition."† For what purpoſe copy of this new publication was ſent by Ceci is obvious enough of itſelf. But this is opene at large in another paper, which was equall ſent in the ſame year to Elizabeth's repreſentati at Paris, and which contains ſome ſpecial ir ſtructions to him from Elizabeth with regard t Mary. To many arguments which he was t

* Goodall, ii. 88. † Ibid. i. 106.

uſe to the King of France, in order to diſſuade him from taking part with the impriſoned Mary, it is added thus: "and here were it not amiſs "to have *divers* of BUCHANAN'S LITTLE LATIN "BOOKS, to preſent, *if need be*, to the *King* as "from *yourſelf*, and likewiſe to ſome of the "other *noblemen of his council*; for THEY WILL "SERVE TO GOOD EFFECT TO DISGRACE HER; "which *muſt be done*, BEFORE *other purpoſes can be* "*attained.*"* This letter, which, like a record of the laſt day, diſcloſes the whole heart and ſoul of Elizabeth in the buſineſs, appears plainly from the tenour of it to have been written *after* the other. The other ſpeaks of the publication as recent. This paſſes over the circumſtance, as not recent and well known. They evidently ſtand in a very near relation to each other. And this reflects a ſtrong light back upon that. It alſo receives a light reflected back from the ſubſequent letter, which ſhews it to have been written, like the firſt, in the month of November, and while there was only a *Latin* edition of Buchanan's book yet publiſhed.

But ſays Cecil in his *firſt* letter, for he was, no doubt, the author of both, though he does not *appear* to be ſo: "I hear it is to be tranſ-"lated into Engliſh, with addition of many "other ſupplements of like condition." It was accordingly publiſhed in Engliſh, within *three or four weeks* afterwards. And ſome of the "ſup-"plements of like condition" were the reſt of

* Goodall; Introd. 25.

the letters. Theſe therefore muſt have been, equally with the former letters, all publiſhed by Elizabeth and Cecil. He, we ſee, knew of the intention and plan, before it was executed. It was executed immediately, and in that very month of November. We have a letter written at Leith in Scotland on the 14th of December in that year; which ſpeaks of the work as having been *then* publiſhed in England. "They "have ſet out in Ingland," ſays the author "and newlie ſet out," he adds in another place "our Quene's lyfe and proceſs, *baith* in *Latin* "and *Engliſh*, quhair-in is contenit the diſcourſe "of hir tragical doingis, the proceſs of the Erle "of Bothwell's clenging," cleanſing or acquittal "hir ſonnettis and letteris to him, the depoſitiounis of the perſounis execute, and cartelli "efter the King's murther. In appearance THAY "LEIVE NATHING UNSET OUT TENDING TO HIR "INFAMIE, and to mak the Duke of Northfolk "odious, quha has a grait benevolence of the "people."* To the Latin edition of the Detection were ſubjoined only the three firſt letters. To the Engliſh were annexed theſe three letters; *before* them, the ſecond contract of marriage, the trial and acquittal of Bothwell for the murder, and the ſonnets in French and Scotch; and *after* them the five other letters, the tickets ſtuck up on Bothwell's acquittal, the confeſſions of Hepburn, Hay, Dalgleiſh and Powry, and ſome concluding exclamations

* Goodall, ii. 371 and 373.

again

againſt Mary.* But that ſtroke concerning the Duke of Norfolk ſhews us ſtill more plainly, whence the Engliſh publication was derived. He had been convinced of the ſcandalous meaſures, into which he had been trepanned againſt Mary. He wiſhed to make her ſome reparation. He wiſhed to deliver her from the curſed bonds, and ſtill more curſed machinations, of that MACHIAVELL IN A RUFF AND FARTHINGALE, Elizabeth. But he was over-reached by men, who, to his honour be it ſpoken, were more verſed than himſelf in the wiles of policy. And he lay at this moment under ſentence of death, for his conduct. To turn away the affection of the people from this popular noble, by loading the name of Mary with various enormities, and by involving him in all the imputed infamy of Mary; appears to have been the deſign of the publication.

For that reaſon, Cecil prefixed to it an inflammatory addreſs againſt her, and added to it an inflammatory comparifon betwixt her and Elizabeth. The former ſays, that in this "booke are "BOTH parties to be heard; the one [Mary] "in the former part, both in the *declaration* and "*oration of evidences*;" theſe names being here from their double nature applied to the two parts of Buchanan's Detection, when in reality

* See the Latin in Jebb, i. 237—277; and the Engliſh in Anderſon, ii. 1—162. The latter is taken from the firſt edition in Scotland, but is the ſame as the Engliſh (Goodall, i. 37—38).

they belong only to the ſecond part of it, which is entitled "ane oratioun with declaratioun of evi- "dences;" the other in the latter part, in the parties "own contractes, ſonges, letteres," &c. "The "booke itſelf," it adds, "with the oration of "evidence, *is* written in Latin by a learned man "of Scotland, Mr. George Buchanan.—It was "alſo overſeen, and allowed, and exhibited by "them," the Lords of the privie council of Scotland, "as mater that thay have offered, and "*do continue in offeryng*, TO STAND TO AND JUS- "TIFIE, before our Soveraigne Ladie, or his "Highneſſes commiſſioners in that behalfe ap- "pointed. And what PROFE thay have made "of it already, when thay were here for that "purpoſe, and the ſayd authour of the ſayd "booke one among them; when BOTH PARTIES "or their ſufficient procurators, were here pre- "ſent INDIFFERENTLIE to be heard, and so WERE "HEARD INDEEDE: all *good* ſubjects may *eaſelie* "gather be our ſaid Soveraigne Ladye's pro- "cedyng ſins the ſaid hearyng of the cauſe "who *no dout* would *never have ſo ſtayed her*," Mary's, "requeſt, but rather would have added "enforcement, by *miniſtring of ayde to the Lairds* "*Mary of Scotland, for her reſtitution.*"* So ſhameleſsly impudent were Elizabeth and Cecil in aſſerting both parties to have been heard by the inquiſition, and both to have been heard impartially; and in reſting finally the proof

* Goodall, ii. 377, and i. 39.

convict

convicted guilt in Mary, on the very perfidiouſneſs of Elizabeth to her.

But both the addreſs and the compariſon went on, in a higher uniſon of malignity, to do that "which was to be done, before other purpoſes could be attained." The addreſs therefore ſays, that "of late hathe bene publiſhed—a treatiſe, *detecting the* FOULE DOYINGES of ſome," Mary, "THAT HAVE BENE DAUNGEROUS TO OUR NOBLE QUENE, by which *detection* is induced a very excellent compariſon for all Engliſhmen to judge, whether it be good to chaunge QUENES or no, and therewith a neceſſary enforcement to every honeſt man, to pray heartely for the long continuance of our good mother to rule over us, that our poſteritie may not ſee her place left empty for a PERILOUS STEPDAME."* But the compariſon ſpoke out in much ſtronger terms than theſe. It ſpoke thus: "Now judge, Engliſhmen, gif it be gude to change QUENES, O uniting, confounding! When rude Scotland has VOMITED A POYSOUNE, muſt fyne England lick it up for a reſtorative? O vyle indignitie! WHILES YOUR QUENE'S ENEMY LIVETH, *hir* DANGER CONTINEWETH. Deſperat neceſſitie will dar the uttermoſt. O ambitione! fed with proſperitie, nouriſhed with indulgence, *irritate with adverſitie*, not to be NEGLECTED, TRUSTED, nor PARDONIT."† So outrageouſly abuſive were Elizabeth and Cecil againſt Mary, when they

* Goodall, ii. 376. † Ibid. 373—374.

could throw out their abuſe under the cover
a maſk, and when they wanted for their "o
"purpoſes" to ſet the nation againſt her.*

Elizabeth was thus buſy in completing
OWN infamy, while ſhe was labouring for Mar
She had plotted to ruin Mary's character.
had tried a thouſand frauds for that purp
Yet ſhe had been compelled, in her own
ſpite, to acknowledge the innocence which
had endeavoured to diſprove. And then
returned with a double portion of malignity,
her original purpoſe; publiſhed the papers
genuine, which ſhe had plainly owned to
ſpurious before; and arraigned, tried, and c
demned that Queen in print, whom ſhe
found herſelf forced to acquit with honour, u
the real trial. She thus became the polli
mother of a long brood of evils. She prep
the way with too fatal a ſucceſs, for her "o
purpoſes." She became *her own ſeducer*
leader into *murder*. She became the wretc
cauſe of worſe. With an equally fatal ſuc
ſhe buried the reputation and honour of M
under the rubbiſh of her own accuſations.
ſhe now ſtands forward in the eye of reaſon
religion, as the grand author of all the cal

* See alſo a diſcourſe concerning the intended mar
of Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, written in the ſame
of impudent abuſe, and written, no doubt, equally
Cecil: as it was ſent in MS. and before publicatic
Elizabeth's agent in Scotland, the factious and unprinc
Randolph (Anderſon, i. 21—32, and the editor's prefa
the Defence of Q. Mary's Honour. p. 111).

nies upon calumnies, that have been heaped by a continual ſucceſſion of ſlanderers on the head of Mary, for two centuries paſt.

She did not indeed foreſee the amazing extent of her crimes, at the time. Nor do any criminals foreſee the extent of theirs. Like Elizabeth, they look not beyond the preſent moment. They reflect not, that there is a *venom* in iniquity, which runs farther than the line of human life; which *corrodes* and *feſters*, when the heart that dictated and the hand that executed it, are both crumbled into duſt; and which continues to *burn* on, to other ages, and to other worlds. And let me in the proper ſentiments of Chriſtianity add, that the ſoul of Elizabeth at this inſtant, whether it is confined in the manſions of miſery, or lodged among the ſpirits of the bleſſed, is now, I doubt not, looking back to all her long tranſactions with Mary, and to their longer conſequences, either with a ſolemn ſigh of penitence over them, or with the pangs and the groans of an overwhelming remorſe for them.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1.

THIS long and uſeful diſſection of Elizabeth's and of Murray's conduct in the exhibition of the letters, proves in the fulleſt manner the lively conviction, that they mutually had upon their minds, concerning the forgery of them. They both very plainly knew them to be forged. They were both very plainly apprehenſive of detection. And they very plainly took ſuch extraordinary meaſures as they did, in order to prevent it. This appears ſtamped in the ſtrongeſt characters, upon the forehead of the whole. Not merely one, or two, or three of the facts preceding, carry this ſtriking ſignature upon them, but all. All bear the records of their own ſhame with them. And they all concur in one uniform atteſtation of infamy, againſt themſelves, againſt the letters, againſt the doers of thoſe, and againſt the employers of theſe.

Well, therefore, might the principal perſons in England, at the concluſion of the conference, form that deciſive opinion of Mary's innocence which they plainly appear to have formed. Mr. Tytler was the firſt who noticed the fact. He inferred it very juſtly from the large and powerful confederacy among them, for the marriage of Mary to the Duke of Norfolk.* But we need

* P. 62—64. edit. 3.

not reſt the point upon an inference. We have a clear and cotemporary authority for it. We have it even with an addition of evidence and energy. And "the nobles of England, that were appointed "to heare and examine al ſuch matters as the "rebels ſhould lay againſt the Quene," ſays the Biſhop of Roſs, only a few months after the hearing and examination were ended, "have "not onely FOUND THE SAID QUEENE INNOCENT "AND GUILTLESS OF THE DEATH OF HER HUS-"BAND, but doe withal FULLY UNDERSTAND, "that her ACCUSERS were the very CONTRIVERS, "DEVISERS, PRACTITIONERS, and WORKERS of "the ſaid murther: and have further alſo *ſo "much encreaſed*, and *in ſuch wiſe renewed the good "eſtimation and great hope thay alwaies had of "her*, NOW PERFECTLY KNOWING HER INNO-"CENCY, and therto moved THROUGH OTHER "PRINCELY QUALITIES RESPLENDENT IN HER, "with many whereof ſhe is much adorned and "ſingularly endowed, THAT THAY HAVE IN "MOST EARNEST WISE SOLICITED AND ENTREAT-"ED, that ſhe might be RESTORED AGAINE, TO "HER HONOUR AND CROUNE. Thay have MOVED "THE SAID QUENE OF SCOTLAND alſo, that it "may pleaſe her TO ACCEPT AND LIKE OF THE "MOST NOBLEST MAN OF ALL ENGLAND, be-"tween whome and her there might be a mar-"riage concluded, to the quieting and comfort of "both the realmes of England and Scotland. "Finally, the noblemen of this our realme, AC-"KNOWLEDGE AND ACCEPT HER, FOR THE VERY "TRUE AND RIOHT HEIR APPARENT OF THIS

"REALME

"REALME OF ENGLAND, being fully minde
"and alwaies ready (when God ſhall ſo diſpoſe
"TO RECEIVE AND SERVE HER AS THAIR UN
"DOUBTED QUENE, MAISTRESSE, AND SOVERAIGN
"whereby it may eaſely appeare HOWE WEL THA
"LIKE OF HER CAUSE, THAT HAD THE HEARIN
"AND TRIAL OF THE SAME, although thay neve
"as yet came in her preſence."* Nor is th
merely the language of Mary's friends. A
enemy, even a Throgmorton, ſays as much.
a letter to Lethington, of July 20, 1569, ſpeak
ing to him of his "Queen's reſtoration an
"marriage to the Duke of Norfolk," he ſay
thus: "Sure I am, you do not judge ſo fle
"derly of the managing of this matter, as to
"think WE have not caſt the worſt, or to enter
"therein ſo far without the aſſiſtance of the
"nobility, the ABLEST, the WISEST, and the
"MIGHTIEST of this realm."† The diſcernment
of a nation, that ſeems in all ages to have had
a ſtrong principle of good-ſenſe alive and acti ve
within it, could not but mark the wriggling move-
ments of guilt in Elizabeth and in Murray, dur-
ing the whole of this memorable inquiry; could
not but deſpiſe the Sovereign, whom they were
obliged to obey; and could not but reverence
the Queen, whom they had been compelled
to perſecute. And they appear to have ſeen and
felt all this ſo very ſtrongly, that they very
earneſtly ſolicited Elizabeth to reſtore the in-
jured Queen to her crown; that they even

* P. 80—81. Anderſon, i. † Robertſon, ii. 395.

ſolic ited

ſolicited Mary to marry Norfolk, for the eventual union of the two kingdoms; and that they profeſſed themſelves ready and reſolute, on the demiſe of Elizabeth, to acknowledge Mary, as they actually acknowledged her ſon, for the rightful Sovereign of both.*

Nor does the evidence of the forgery, ariſing from the apprehenſiveneſs of detection, end here. The ſame principle of cautious policy equally ſhews itſelf, in another part of the hiſtory of theſe letters. Murray, who acted with ſo much of the timorouſneſs of guilt about him, while he was co-operating with Elizabeth, acted juſt in the ſame manner, when he was left entirely to his own operations. He was equally then a knave, fearful of detection, and guarding againſt it. And he equally betrayed his knavery, by that very fearfulneſs and thoſe very guards.

The letters were not conſtantly in the public eye, from the period of their firſt appearance before it. They were ſeen. They diſappeared. They appeared again. But, in almoſt every one of theſe abſences, the comet, though aſſerted to be the ſame, ſtill preſented a different face

* So Mary, in a letter written at the moment, and dated Jan. 5, 1568-9, ſays thus: "The ſaid Quene, our guid "ſiſter, and hir counſal, knaw thair fals inventiounis and "offences practiſit aganis us, to cullour thair traiſoun and "wickit uſurpatioun; ſwa that it ſall be manifeſt to all the "world quhat men thay ar, to our honour, and contentment "of our faythful ſubjectis. For, *prayſit be God, our friendis "increſſis, and thairis decreſſis, daylie.*" Goodall, ii. 315. And ſee alſo Leſley's Negotiations, 51—52, 55, 58, and 62. Anderſon, ii.

to

to the world. And there was a real alteration at almoſt every return, in the form or in the ſubſtance of theſe redoubted writings. This could not have been the caſe, if the writings had been authentick. They could never have varied in their form. They could never have changed in their ſubſtance. They muſt have appeared, and they muſt have been, exactly the ſame; from the firſt moment of their exhibition, to the laſt. The principle of identity within them, muſt have given them an uniformity of look and aſpect, in all the different ſtages of their exiſtence. This indeed they *might* equally have had, if they had been merely forgeries. But they would be ſure to have had it, if they had been really genuine. And, only as forgeries, could they have been capable of any variation at all.

It is a very ſingular circumſtance in the genius of guilt, that it is ever apprehenſive of diſcovery, that it is ever endeavouring to ſecure itſelf againſt it, and that it is ever diſcovering itſelf by the act. This is as ſtriking in itſelf, as it is happy in its conſequences for man. Honeſty ſtands firm upon its own unfailing baſis. It dreads not expoſure. It ſhews not ſolicitude. It uſes not any preventive arts. But villainy is continually ſhifting its ground. It is always haunted with ſuſpicions. It is always on the watch for dangers. It is always ſtrengthening itſelf againſt them. And thus is it continually diſcloſing its dangers, its ſuſpicions, and its villainy, to an attentive eye. The coward provokes the attack, by preparing ſo timorouſly for it. The ſerpent

points

points out the moſt vulnerable part of his body, by covering it ſo cautiouſly with the reſt. The villain never thinks himſelf ſecure, while he has time for ſecuring himſelf ſtill more. He will "make ſurety doubly ſure." He will "take a "bond of fate" itſelf, for his own preſervation. And he will betray himſelf completely by all. So Murray acted. He forged the letters. He then reviſed them. He reviſed and corrected. He again reviſed, and he again corrected. He was continually at work, with all the aſſiduity of a painter over a favourite piece, in giving them

The patient touches of unwearied art.

One alteration was ſucceeded by another. The letters progreſſively put on a variety of faces, under his reforming hand. And thus did he as loudly proclaim the forgery of them to the ear of reaſon, as if he had told it by the mouth of a herald and the ſound of a trumpet.

Many of the changes, which the letters underwent in this manner, are undoubtedly loſt to our knowledge, from the want of minute exactneſs in the original records concerning them. But there are ſeveral, that are very diſtinguiſhable at preſent. Theſe I ſhall bring forth into view. And for that purpoſe I ſhall trace theſe "children of the mind," from the firſt and earlieſt notice which we have of them, from the firſt ſpeck of life which we can diſcover in them, the very *punctum ſaliens* of their exiſtence, to their full maturity of manhood, at the final exhibition in London.

§ II.

§ II.

THE firſt point to be aſcertained in the hi tory of theſe remarkable writings, is the grai æra of their original appearance to the worl This the rebels have fixed to be the period their own diſcovery of them. But the one very different from the other. On either foc ing, however, the *production* of ſuch a monſt muſt form a very remarkable epocha, in t annals of its exiſtence. And the rebels give this collective account of both.

In 1567, and on *June*, 20, ſays a journal their fabrication, which I ſhall particularly dw upon hereafter, "DALGLEISHE, chalmer-chi "[chamberlain] to my Lord Bothwell, wes taki "and THE BOX AND LETTERIS quhilk he broug "out of the CASTELL. About this tyme my Lo "Buthwell fled be ſea to the north."* This artic in the journal is of conſiderable importance to t It ſettles the preciſe day of the diſcovery. therefore preſents a fair mark for the ſhafts criticiſm. But it wants in circumſtantiality, wh it gains in preciſion. It was plainly drawn u ſome time after the fact ſpecified. It therefo refers in ſuch a tone of familiarity, to the ant cedent ideas of the reader; ſpeaking only "*the* box and letteris," and thinking it u neceſſary to particularize, what box and wh letters were meant by the words. And accor ingly, as I ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, it did n

* Appendix, No. x.

mal

make its appearance in publick, till EIGHTEEN or NINETEEN MONTHS afterward, even till the time of the ſecond conference in England. But, from the *oral traditions* of the rebels at theſe two conferences, the Biſhop of Roſs has informed us of one important circumſtance, additional to the account in the journal. "It is forſooth," he cries out with a manly diſdain at the alledged diſcovery, "A BOX OF LETTERS, taken from one DOUG-"LEYSH, who was executed for the Lord Darleys "death, the Earles man forſooth; which letters he "RECEIVED at Edenborough, of one SIR JAMES "BALFOURE, TO CONVEY TO HIS MASTER."* And Buchanan has dilated both theſe accounts into this full and circumſtantial hiſtory. "Me-"morandum," he ſays at the end of his Detection, "that in the CASTELL of Edinburgh "thair WAS LEFT BE THE ERLE BOTHWELL, "befoir his fleing away," about June the 20th, as in the journal above, "and WAS SEND [ſent] "FOR be one GEORGE DAGLISCHE his ſervand, "quha WAS TAKIN BE THE ERLE OF MORTOUN, "ane ſmall gylt coffer, not fully ane foot long, be-"ing garniſchit in ſindrie places with the Roman "letter F. under ane Kingis crowne," as having belonged to the Queen's late huſband, Francis, "quhairin wer certane letteris and "wrytingis weill knawin, and be aithis [oaths] "to be affirmit to have bene written with the "Quene of Scottis awin hand to the Erle

* Leſley's Defence, 6. Anderſon, i.

"Both-

Mary's, and equally ſent by her to Bothw
We have the account of it, immediately a
the account of the other. The Queen, it is ſ
" qu' elle alloit a Seton," told Paris to c
" une caſſette" to Bothwell's chamber in
palace; and juſt afterwards, " puis apres,
" commande de prendre SON COFFRE DES BAG
" et les faire porter AU CHASTEAU, et le
" livrer entre les mains de Sieur de Skirl
" pour lors Capitaine ſoubz Monſieur de B
" wel."* Here the mention of the coffer,
the box in which the Queen kept her ri
and conſequently all her jewels; the order
conveying it to the caſtle; and the comman
deliver it into the hands of Bothwell's de
there; all fix it to be the very caſket for
letters. Thus are we diſtracted betwixt the
Dromios and the two Antipholuſes, ſometi
believing the one to be genuine, and ſometi
denying the other to be ſpurious; till we are
volved in a Comedy of Errors about them,
in the preſent caſe we come to ſee plainly at
that, however ſuch a miſtake might very eaſily
when there were TWO Dromios and TWO A
pholuſes, yet it could not poſſibly have happe
when there was only ONE of each. In na
it could not. It could only in that poor re
ſentation of nature, which the counterfeiter
her operations frequently make, and in wh
they " imitate humanity ſo abominably,"

* Goodall, ii. 81.

ev

every judicious obſerver cries out at the view, Thou art "a piece of art." And art was here impoſed upon by its paſſions. With an eager officiouſneſs of ſpirit coming forward to the ſupport of forgery, it adds falſehood to falſehood with ſuch a ready tongue, that it entangles itſelf in the ſnares of its own tale, and deſtroys the cauſe which it was meaning to defend. Reſolved to obviate the very natural objection, of Mary's letters to Bothwell being found in a box of Mary's, and not in a box of Bothwell's; it inſtantly creates an order from Mary, for the tranſmiſſion of one of her boxes to Bothwell. Nor is it content with this. It will do more. The work of creation is eaſy to it. This therefore leads it on. The keen deſire of ſecuring the point beyond all poſſibility of objection hereafter, ſtimulates it ſtrongly. From the united impulſes of both, it provides TWO boxes for the emergency. And thus it ſo far "out-ſteps the "modeſty of nature," as to enter upon the confines of madneſs itſelf; and, like the mad hero in Statius, has TWO Thebes and TWO ſuns appearing before it.

This however is the whole of the notices, which the rebels have thought proper to give us latterly and in form, concerning the pretended diſcovery of the letters. We have already found ſome of the more detached parts, burdened with their own falſehood, and weighed down with their own contradictorineſs. But let us now proceed to examine the more important parts. And we

ſhall then behold the contradictorineſs and the falſehood, preſſing with a ſtill heavier weight upon the whole.

Bothwell, ſay the rebels, before his flight to the north about June the 20th, and even, as they muſt mean, before his departure from Edinborough on June the 7th,* left in the caſtle of Edinborough a ſtrong box, which had once been preſented by Francis, King of France, to Mary his Queen, which had been ſince ſent by Mary to Bothwell, and in which Bothwell had repoſited Mary's letters to him. But WHY did Mary ſend this box to Bothwell? On this point the confeſſion, the journal, and the Detection are equally ſilent. Their reſpective authors could not invent any reaſon, that would appear ſatisfactory even to their own imaginations. They had already ſhewn the box in England, with the ſignatures of Francis upon it. They were therefore compelled to adhere to the box for ever afterwards, in ſpite of the abſurdity which attended the ſelection of ſuch a repoſitory. They had overlooked the abſurdity themſelves. It was firſt ſuggeſted to them, no doubt, at the firſt production of the repoſitory in Weſtminſter. And this made them attempt to preclude the objection with ſuch unfortunate zeal, in the ſecond confeſſion of Paris. It was *afterwards* obſerved probably, that this confeſſion had defeated itſelf in its zeal. It had created a couple of boxes:

* Appendix, No. x.

I

It had thus accumulated abſurdity upon abſurdity. The rebels, for that reaſon, ſhrunk back again from their ſtory of Mary's donation of the box to Bothwell. They left the reader to gueſs at the manner, in which the box came into Bothwell's poſſeſſion. And ſo they delivered us the account, which Buchanan has preſented to us in his *Engliſh* Detection. But ſtill what could be the reaſon, for Mary's making ſuch a donation to Bothwell? There could only be one. It is this. When Francis firſt gave it to Mary, he gave it with its proper accompaniment of jewels within. When Mary remitted it afterwards to Bothwell, ſhe muſt equally have remitted it with its contents of jewels to him. An empty caſket would be a mere mockery of a donation in itſelf. It would be peculiarly a mockery from a King or a Queen. It would be a high indignity put upon his love. It would be a groſs inſult offered to her Majeſty. The rebels therefore muſt mean to intimate, that the jewels were ſent with the caſket to Bothwell. And they actually intimate as much, in the very terms of the confeſſion; Mary ordering Paris to take her box of jewels, "ſon coffre des bagues, et "*les* faire porter au chaſteau." The Queen is thus made to ſtrip herſelf of her jewels, in a mad love fit of generoſity. She ſtrips herſelf of them too, at the very time when (according to the letters) ſhe wanted them moſt; when ſhe was deeply in love with Bothwell; when Bothwell treated her with a great indifference;

and when ſhe needed every attraction of pe ſonal ornament, to ſet off her fine perſon, a to fire his cold heart. She ſtrips herſelf of th likewiſe, though ſhe was a woman peculia ſtudious of perſonal decoration upon every c caſion, in order to confer them upon a man, wl as ſuch, could not wear them. And, at the co cluſion of the whole, we are hiſtorically inform by the rebels themſelves, that ſhe had *not* giv away her jewels; that they *ſaw* ſhe had n when they entered Edinborough, and took p ſeſſion of her palace; and that they then fou her jewels repoſited there. They took an ventory, ſays the rebel Calderwood in MS. hiſtory of the times, of "all the pla "JEWELS, and other moveables" in the palac "This was done," ſays Blackwood, "the nig "before the Queen's commitment to Lochlevi and conſequently on the 15th of June.† T was done "ſhortly after the Queen's comm "ment," ſays Calderwood with more proba lity, and conſequently about the very day, t they pretended to intercept the caſket, w letters inſtead of jewels within it, as it v coming from the caſtle. They *now*, no dou got poſſeſſion of it for the firſt time. Th diſcharged it of its jewels. Theſe they appl to their own uſes by ſale, as they did Queen's ſide-board of plate by fuſion.‡ Th

* Keith, 407. † Jebb, ii. 219.
‡ Keith, 407, and Preface, ix. and Crawford, 44.

employed Nicholas Elphinſton in the office of ſelling them, who was one of Rizzio's murderers, who was pardoned at the ſolicitation of Murray, and who continued an active implement of his to the laſt.* Murray ſent him with them into England; made preſents of ſome of them to Elizabeth and to her miniſtry, both having the infinite meanneſs to accept them; and ſold the reſt in Flanders and in France.† And a long while afterwards, in a moſt unlucky moment, and when all their ſtars ſhone very inauſpiciouſly upon them, they appropriated the caſket to the receipt of their forged letters.

Mary however is ſaid by the rebels, to have ſent one caſket *up to the caſtle*. This therefore was certainly ſtored with jewels. The jewels were too valuable to be left expoſed to the coming danger. And for that reaſon they were depoſited in the hands of a man, who was lieutenant-governor of the caſtle under Bothwell. This was done, we are told, ſome little time after the murder, when the Queen went away to Seton, about the 21ſt of February, 1567. But *then* there was no danger coming. *Then* there was even no alarm of danger. She therefore could not ſend her jewels to the caſtle *then*. And when the danger actually came, in the beginning of June, ſhe did *not* ſend her jewels to

* Anderſon, iv. pt. i. 63, 111. Leſley's Negotiations, 83, Keith, App. 169, Hiſt. 300, 423, &c. and Melvill, 93.

† Jebb, ii. 219.

the caſtle. She left them at Holyrood-houſe, even when ſhe was obliged to abandon it herſelf.

So abſurd and falſe appears the ſtory of the caſket, in any light in which it can be held up to the eye of the underſtanding! Yet, in this caſket, the rebels ſay that Bothwell repoſited his letters from Mary. Bothwell, we are to ſuppoſe, took out the jewels, ſold them privately, and ſupplied their place with the letters. Theſe letters he muſt have received at his own apartments in Holyrood-houſe, even at thoſe very apartments, to which Mary ſent the firſt box of the confeſſion, the box that her comptroller had brought her out of France. In thoſe lodgings, therefore, this box and the letters now met for the firſt time. The letters from Glaſgow, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, muſt have been there before the box. And the letters from Stirling muſt have come thither to it ſucceſſively afterwards. So far the train is in regular order. There is no embarraſſment yet in the line of the proceſſion. But one ariſes immediately. This is a great one. The letters and the box are united together at Holyrood-houſe! But how come they together into the caſtle? Of this we have no account at all. And the moſt material link in the chain of conveyance, has here been forgotten to be formed by the rebels. Let us therefore turn to the *ſecond* box of the confeſſion, and ſee if the tranſmiſſion is more carefully noticed there. This box indeed is tranſmitted to the caſtle at once. We

thus overleap the grand chaſm in the narrative of the other, at the very outſet. We have the box depoſited ſafely in the caſtle. But *are the letters in it?* No! The Glaſgow letters are ſtill at Holyrood-houſe. And the Stirling letters *are not yet written.* So much more defective is even this account than that! Both together indeed, with ſome alterations, would make one fair and regular narrative. They would unite to tell us, that Mary ſent her caſket of jewels by Paris to Bothwell about February the 21ſt, that *Bothwell ſent this caſket* by Paris to the caſtle *about June the* 7th, and that *he, Paris, remarked it felt much lighter at the ſecond conveyance than at the firſt.* This would be falſe in fact; but it would be regular in the narration of incidents, and conformable to the hiſtory of the times. This indeed ſhould ſo naturally have been the very line, in which the train of the ſtory ought to have moved; that I cannot but expreſs my wonder, it was not the actual line. I can only attribute the deviation to thoſe overpowering fears and ſuſpicions, which muſt ever attend a fabrication of villainy like this, and which ſtifle and ſmother the natural exertions of underſtanding in the work. In this ſtate of guilty diſtraction, the mind formed an account, which bears all the ſymptoms of her own diſtraction upon it. It has divided the only narration into two. It has thrown in ſome circumſtances to the one. It has preſented ſome circumſtances to the other. It has ſuperadded ſome to both,

both, that are ſtill more embarraſſing; while i has never ſubjoined ſome to either, that ar abſolutely neceſſary to the conſiſtency of th whole. And it has thus framed two account which, if taken ſeparately, are contradictory t each other; which, if united together, muſt b united by the ſacrifice of parts in each; which whether taken ſeparately or in union, requir equally an addition of parts to each; which, eve at laſt, would be ſtill abſurd in their manner and falſe in their matter; and which therefor betray that impoſture in the cleareſt manner which they were originally contrived to cover.

But let us lend a friendly hand to the limpin genius of forgery, and then obſerve how it wil be able to walk. Let us ſuppoſe the caſket t have been ſent to Bothwell in the end of Febru ary, 1567, to have been kept by him till th beginning of June, and at that time to hav been tranſmitted by him, with its freight o letters, to the caſtle. He muſt then have lodge them in the caſtle, to keep them in ſafety fron the ſeizure of his enemies. And he muſt hav locked them up in the caſket, to preſerve then in ſecurity from the curioſity of his friends But why, in the name of common ſenſe, ſhoul he lock them up in THIS box above any other It was certainly the moſt improper repoſitor for them, that could have been ſelected in th whole compaſs of nature. It was ſilver gilt, an "garniſchit in *ſundrie* places with the Roman lett "F. under ane Kingis crowne." It told therefo

o every eye, whoſe property the box had originlly been, and from whoſe hands it came immeditely into Bothwell's. It conſequently proclaimed ne adultery aloud. And it even inſinuated the nurder in more than a whiſper to the world. It herefore told all, that the letters could have old themſelves. They do only inſinuate the murder. They can only proclaim the adultery. They might as well therefore have lain open to nſpection, as have been locked up in ſuch a ell-tale and bewraying coffer. Bothwell muſt ave ſeen this. Every body muſt have ſeen it. And yet, ſuch is the ſwelling abſurdity of all his rebel hiſtory, he locked them up in the ell-tale and bewraying coffer, when he had ctually "a green velvet deſk" in the caſtle itſelf, and when he actually lodged ſome important papers within it.*

Important papers he might well lodge there. But why ſhould he attempt to lodge the letters? They could not be of the ſlighteſt uſe to him, *if* he preſerved them. They would be of infinite detriment both to himſelf and to the Queen, *if* their enemies ſhould get poſſeſſion of them. In this ſtate of circumſtances, why, why ſhould he attempt to preſerve them at all? If he wiſhed, as he muſt certainly wiſh, and wiſh very earneſtly too, to ſecure them from the graſp of his and her enemies; the natural and obvious mode of acting, was to deſtroy them.

* Robertſon, ii. 463.

This

This would be a ſhort and compendious means of ſaving them. This would be an effectual and deciſive ſtroke, for the prevention of all miſchief from them. And he could certainly have thought of no other method of diſpoſing of them, than by throwing them into the fire at once.

But perhaps, as I am equally willing with the moſt reſolute advocates for the rebels, to make any ſuppoſition which may ſoften the abſurdities, and reconcile the contradictions, of their accounts; Bothwell may be ſuppoſed to be ſo deeply in love with Mary at the time, that he loved her letters for her ſake, that he was therefore unwilling to burn thoſe precious tokens of her love to him, and that he finally reſolved to preſerve them at any rate,

> Againſt his better knowledge, not deceived,
> But fondly overcome with female charm.

We thus venture to the very verge of phrenzy, in order to vindicate the radical abſurdity of the rebel narrative. Yet we cannot do it. Even the phrenzy of love itſelf would not excuſe him. When ſuch ſtrong and powerful reaſons concurred to urge him on to the immediate deſtruction of the letters, when only ſuch ſlight and petty reaſons withheld his hand from the deed, even a love-phrenzy itſelf would have conſigned them to the flames. The ſenſibilities of danger, and the dread of deſtruction, to Mary as well as to himſelf, would have acted with an irreſiſtible force upon his ſpirit, would have ſwept the reverſ-

veries of fantaſtical love in a whirlwind before them, and have lodged the letters at once in the fire. And, after all, the ſuppoſition itſelf is founded on a falſehood. Even according to the letters themſelves, Bothwell was *not* mad in love, whatever Mary may be there. He is indeed deſcribed as juſt the contrary. *He is not in love at all.* *Her* affection flames out. But *his* never burns. She ſteps very boldly forward, to catch him in her arms. He ſteps as modeſtly backward, and declines the intended embrace. She appears all glowing with love, while he is wholly iced over with indifference. And ſuch a man as this would be ſo far from determining to preſerve the letters, at the riſque of his fortune and his life; that he would not have kept them with any riſque at all, that he would have taken particular care *not* to keep them, and that he would have choſen, with a cautious and ſteady ſolicitude, to have burned every letter ſucceſſively at the very moment.

Yet, in this neceſſary ſtate of ſolicitude for the ſucceſſive deſtruction of the letters, Bothwell is made to preſerve them, to preſerve them carefully, and to preſerve them at the hazard of all that was dear to him.

Flow back, ye ſtreams, and to your ſource aſcend.

The rebels are determined to put the credulity of their friends to the ſevereſt teſt.

In this teſt then, let us even ſuppoſe with the ever-

ever-ſlanderous Buchanan,* That Bothwell kep the letters as a guard againſt the mutabilit of Mary's mind, and as an evidence of her pa ticipation with him in the murder. We thi ſhift from love to policy. But we equally re verſe the characters of both the agents. W give to her a mutability that never exiſted. Th firm and ſteady ſpirit of Mary, which ſhewe itſelf ſo ſignally in all the great occaſions of he eventful life, and which bore her up with ſuc a magnanimity of heroiſm under all her unparal leled ſufferings, is made to diſſolve away i the weakneſs of a wanton giddineſs. And th ſun is exhibited with all the changing phaſes c the moon. Bothwell alſo is repreſented by thi *camera obſcura* of Buchanan's, in an equally in verted poſition. He, who ſcarcely looked for ward to the very next moment that was advancin upon him, is ſuppoſed to be darting a keen an piercing glance into futurity, to be "bendin "his eyes" firmly on mere "vacancy" itſelf and to be catching eagerly at the void of ai before him. And, what is more, he is ſuppoſe to be acting under this prophetick view of here after, with all that lively energy of unmeanin terrour, which conſtitutes the very eſſence o madneſs. In the violence of his impreſſion from an apprehended, a contingent, and an ima ginary danger, he is made to overlook a re one, to encounter a formidable one, and ev to force down one that came charged with certa

* Hiſt, xviii. 364.

deſtruct

deſtruction to him. He is made to keep the letters, for fear Mary ſhould lay her ſhare of the murder upon his head, and ſo to preſerve them for thoſe aſſaſſins, who would be ſure to lay the whole upon the heads of both; to preſerve them, when he ſaw them coming to aſſaſſinate both; to preſerve them, when he felt them ſtriking boldly with their poniards at both; and to preſerve them, as ſo many *ſtilettos* poiſoned ready to their hands, ſure to be inſtantly turned againſt both, and capable of inflicting wounds infinitely more malignant in their nature, than any from their own weapons. This is the very conſummation of inſanity. And the poor Bedlamite, that fancied himſelf all formed of glaſs, and was therefore afraid of almoſt every touch, could only have been a proper companion for the Bothwell of Buchanan; if, in the ſtrong preſſure of this fear upon his mind, he had refuſed to perform all the ordinary functions of life, and ſo had killed himſelf by his wildneſs, leſt he ſhould be hurt in his brittleneſs.

But, even allowing either the inſanity of policy or the phrenzy of love in Bothwell, to have determined on preſerving the letters; why ſhould Bothwell ſend them for their preſervation *to the caſtle?* He did it, as we are told, "befoir "his fleing away" from Edinborough, in June, 1567. A rebellion was then riſing in the nation, which gave a very great alarm to the Queen and him on the 1ſt of June.* He was forced to

* Keith, 396—398.

flee

flee before it with her, upon the 7th.* Ye
and ſhe could make their eſcape that day
Borthwick caſtle. Why then ſhould they
have taken their letters with them, if they w
preſerve them? They muſt have taken arti
of much greater bulk, and of infinitely leſs
ſequence, with them. And the very anxiety
would have lodged the letters in the caſtl
Edinborough, would much rather have ta
care to ſecure the letters under their own
tection, and to carry the caſket along with th
But indeed there ſeems to have been ſo l
time given them at the moments of their fli
that they could take no care for the letter
for any thing elſe. They appear to have
tually fled away from Edinborough, with
much precipitation; that they left even
Queen's private jewels behind them. T
might therefore have poſſibly *forgotten* in
hurry, to take the letters with them; though
were a thouſand times more important to th
than the jewels. But they could certainly h
had no time then, to form a plan for preſerv
the letters, and to ſend them up to the caſtle
ſafety. And, even if they could, the caſtl
Edinborough was the laſt place in the world
which they would have ordered the letter
the time. So mountainous and overgrown
the abſurdity of the rebel narrative appear
we proceed! The very man, to whom

* Keith, 398; Leſley's Defence, 17; and Appe
No. x.

Qu

Queen and Bothwell had entruſted the command of the caſtle, was actually turning a traitor to them. He had actually banded with their rebels againſt them. It was even he, that forced Bothwell and the Queen to relinquiſh Edinborough ſo precipitately, on the 7th of June.* And to ſend the letters up to the caſtle therefore, for fear leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of their enemies, would be to act the part of the charmed bird in America; and, out of pure terrour from the rattle-ſnake, to run directly into its mouth. Borthwick caſtle, to which the Queen and he fled from Edinborough; and Dunbar caſtle, to which they progreſſively retired from Borthwick; muſt neceſſarily have been the place of ſecurity, to which even madneſs would have conveyed the letters; even if it had been wound up to ſuch a pitch of extravagance, as to reſolve upon preſerving them at all. Nor could the higheſt pitch of poſſible madneſs, that could keep a man from actual confinement in a dark cell and ſtraw, have ever thought of chooſing Edinborough caſtle for its place of ſecurity then.

But who was the wretch, that had then the command of the caſtle? Bothwell was the real commandant, and had a deputy under him. This deputy, ſays the confeſſion, was "Sieur de "Skirling, pour lors Capitaine *ſoubz Monſieur de* "*Bodwel.*" It ſays ſo indeed, at the time the Queen ſent her box of jewels, "ſon coffre des "bagues," up to the caſtle. This it fixes to the

* Leſley's Defence, 17, and Melvill, 81—82.

the caſtle, and depoſiting it in the hands of th lieutenant-governor, to the time mentioned i the only narrative of the fact, the end of Febru ary; the "Sieur de Skirling" was certainly nc then lieutenant-governor under Bothwell, bc cauſe Bothwell was not governor himſelf ther Or if we puſh forward with the fact to the onl period in which it could have happened, th alarms and apprehenſions at the beginning c June; though Bothwell was then governor, th "Sieur de Skirling" was not governor unde him. And, at either period, the mention of hi name adds one more to the many notes of for gery, which we have in this pretended diſcover of the letters.

But we have others. One particularly ap pears in the *keeping* and *diſpoſition* of the mai object here. The rebels forced the un-defende gates of Edinborough, upon the 10th and 12th c June.* They marched out of Edinborough agair upon the 15th. They met the Queen an Bothwell in the field, that day. She cam over to them. Deſerted by his Queen and h wife, he haſted back to Dunbar, from which h had come with her. And the royal army di perſed. Yet, even then, Bothwell is repreſente as making an effort to recover his letters. H had previouſly lodged them in the caſtle c Edinborough, when he could not have had or particle of affiance upon his deputy there. Bu

* Keith, 399, records of the town-council. They forc the ſuburb-gates on the 10th, drew up a proclamation the on the 11th, and forced the city-gates on the 12th.

th

this wildneſs is exceeded by his extravagance now. He now attempts to draw them out of the caſtle again, when he muſt have known his deputy to be a moſt perfidious traitor. He had made no attempt, before he had been forced out of Edinborough by this very deputy. He muſt have ſuſpected him, before he fled from him. Yet he tried no experiment then, for recovering the letters. He returned with an army towards Edinborough, in order to fight the rebels. The balance of empire might then ſeem to hang ſuſpended, between the rebels and him. Then, therefore, a wretch of ſuch commodious principles as Balfour appears to have been, *might* be inclined to do his old friend and patron a beneficial ſervice in ſecret, ſo to efface his own perfidy and villainy before, and to create himſelf an intereſt with him again, in caſe he ſhould be ſucceſsful. In thoſe critical moments, he *might* be induced clandeſtinely to return him the letters, which he knew to be fraught with ſuch ruin to him. Yet, in thoſe moments, Bothwell neglected to make any application for them. On the 15th of June, all his towering imaginations were daſhed to the ground at once. He had come to Carberrie-Hill, followed by an army, and accompanied by a Queen. He now fled, attended only by a ſingle ſervant.* He was glad to ſhelter himſelf in the caſtle of Dunbar, from the vengeance due to his crimes. And

* See a painting of the time, now preſerved in Kenſington Palace, and engraved by Vertue in 1742.

even there he found himſelf obliged in a ver
few days, according to the rebel accounts, t
"flee be ſea to the north." Yet at this ver
time he makes an effort from Dunbar, which h
had never made while he was in Edinboroug
itſelf. In this very extremity of diſtreſs he trie
a bold experiment, which he had not courage t
try, when he was fortified with the authority
the Queen, and when he was facing the rebe
openly in the field. And in the very hou
when almoſt every friend has at laſt deſerte
him, he expects a return of friendſhip from
man, who had deſerted him at firſt, only becau
he *ſuſpected* him to be in danger. He is thu
deſcribed by the paradoxical extravagance
forgery, as ſucceſſively neglecting every mome
of probability for the work, and as finally chooſin
a moment of impoſſibility for it; a moment whe
it was abſolutely impoſſible to do it, a mome
when it was abſolutely impoſſible to hope h
ſhould do it. And thus the forgery ſtanc
forward again, upon the face of the aſſerted fact.

At this period, however, Bothwell is repr
ſented as ſending his ſervant George Dalgleiſh
from Dunbar, to make his way through the cou
try to Edinborough, to make his way throug
the city to the caſtle, to wait upon Balfour, th
acting governor, with a requiſition for the bo
of letters, and to bring back the importa
charge through ten thouſand dangers to Dunba
He did not order him, as common ſenſe re
quired he ſhould have done in ſuch circum
ſtances, when he had once got the letters in

his own poſſeſſion, not to riſque the very probable ſeizure of them by the hands of hoſtility, but to deſtroy them inſtantly and effectually. No! He ſent to fetch them from the caſtle, as if there was no danger in going thither, as if there was no doubt of receiving them there, and as if there was no difficulty in carrying them back. To a traveller in an eaſy chair, all roads are ſmooth, and all days are fine. And the writer of an eaſtern tale, can make rocks open at the ſound of a charm, and palaces riſe by virtue of a magic lamp. Dalgleiſhe thus makes good his courſe through the country, though he was a well-known ſervant of Bothwell's. He makes good his entrance at the gates of the city, though this was guarded by 450 harquebuſiers.* He makes good his paſſage from the city into the caſtle. And he delivers his meſſage. If this was *written*, it muſt then have been an implement of equal danger to Bothwell and to him, in caſe he had been ſearched on the way. If it was unwritten, then it muſt have been aſcertained to the governor of the caſtle by ſome well-known token, which would perhaps have been equally dangerous. But, what is more aſtoniſhing than all, he actually receives the box of letters from Sir James Balfour. This indeed is "o'er-doing Termagant; it out-herods Herod." Balfour was the ductile ſlave of ſelfiſhneſs. He had already turned with infinite perfidiouſneſs againſt his friend, his patron, and

* Robertſon, ii. 372.

his Queen, merely becauſe he found a party riſing in the ſtate, which he thought would be too ſtrong for them. He had particularly united to aſſault Bothwell in the height of his power and greatneſs, becauſe he ſaw him tottering to his fall. He now knew him to be fallen. He beheld him, as it were, ſtruck to the ground by a thunder-bolt. Bothwell was now an almoſt ſolitary refugee at Dunbar, condemned as a regicide by the ruling powers, and execrated as a regicide by all the nation. The Queen herſelf was in a ſtill lower ſituation of diſtreſs. She was treated with a thouſand indignities, by thoſe who had invited her to come over to them. She was carried away by violence in the night, and impriſoned in one of her own caſtles, by thoſe who had promiſed to ſhew her every reſpect, and who had engaged to pay her every obedience. Such was the infamous preſumption of triumphant rebellion, at this moment! The whole kingdom, indeed, bowed beneath the power of theſe profligates. And yet this is the very ſeaſon ſelected by the infatuation of forgery, for ſelfiſhneſs to become generous in its ſpirit, for meanneſs to become exalted in its ſentiments, and for a Balfour to do an heroical act of kindneſs. "He had," ſays a cotemporary writer, "before aſſiſted the faction againſt the Quen "with the force and ſtrength of Edenborough ca"tle, and driven from thence the very Ear"himſelf."* The faction, ſays the ſame writer i[n] another

* Leſley's Defence, 16—17.

another place, afterwards " got into the town and " fortreſſe of Edenborough, by the treaſon of Bal- " foure the captaine thereof, and of Cragmiler the " provoſt of the citie."* In theſe circumſtances, aſks the very ſame writer, " is it to be thought, " that either the Earle would ſend to the ſaid Sir " James, or that the ſaid Sir James would ſend " any thing to the Earle? Is it likely? Is it " credible?"† Theſe acts indeed were too important in their nature, too enormous in their villainy, and too recent in their dates, to be forgiven at preſent by Bothwell, or to admit any hope of forgiveneſs in Balfour. They muſt therefore have operated upon the latter, with the uſual influence of committed enormities upon the minds and ſpirits of the committers. They muſt have made him wiſh, to heap new enormities upon the heads of the old, to cruſh Bothwell completely under all, and ſo to preclude all poſſibility of puniſhment from him hereafter. And, for this reaſon, the grand hiſtorian and advocate for rebellion, when he came to model his account of this tranſaction in the calmer hour of reviſal, and to free it from the objections lying too ſtrongly againſt it, did then for the *firſt* time repreſent Balfour, as acting in this very manner; as giving up the letters to Dalgleiſhe, and as *then ſending notice to Morton for his interception.*‡

Thus acting, Balfour is regularly and uniformly a knave. But then his knavery is equalled

* Leſley's Defence, 35. † P. 16—17.
‡ Buchanan, Hiſt. xviii. 364.

by

by his folly. When he diſmiſſed the letters, in expectation of recovering them again by Morton; he knew not but Dalgleiſhe might have orders and abilities, to baffle his expectation and to ſecure the letters. Dalgleiſhe might elude the guards ſet for him. Dalgleiſhe might deſtroy the papers, before he was taken by them Dalgleiſhe might ſecrete the papers for the preſent, and come privately for them afterwards Any one of theſe practiſes, would have barred the recovery of the letters for ever. And the man who had ſuffered the bird to fly out of his hand becauſe he was confident he could catch it again would have been conſidered by Morton and his rebel brethren, as a fool and an idiot for the act None but a fool, none but an idiot, they would have juſtly cried, could ever have given up the letters at all to Dalgleiſhe. He had no reſerves or delicacy to keep with Bothwell. Theſe he had long laid aſide, even when he drove him from the city. Theſe he had doubly laid aſide, when he combined with the provoſt to put the rebels in poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle. Or, even if he had not, was the great cauſe itſelf to be ſacrificed to his perſonal views of policy? Morton himſelf muſt alſo have ſhared with him, in the cenſure of folly. He had agreed with Balfour, for the diſmiſſion and the interception. He had known of the former being deſigned, that he might prepare himſelf and his guards for the execution of the latter. He had not diverted the deſign. He had actually made himſelf a party in it. He would therefore have been conſider-

ſidered by the rebels, as equally a fool and an idiot with Balfour. Indeed almoſt all the actors in this whole drama, and particularly in this firſt part of it, are to be conſidered as fools and idiots in fact; or elſe the wretched plot cannot be carried on. And, when we ſit down to read the Arabian Nights Entertainments, we muſt firſt allow ourſelves to be cheated into the belief of genii, taliſmans, and flying horſes of wood; and then we are borne ſmoothly down the ſtream of the ſtory to the end.

But indeed we have not the ſlighteſt authority for ſuppoſing, that Morton and Balfour did act with this idiot folly. Let us therefore vindicate them from the charge. In their lifetime, whatever they may think now, they would rather have been conſidered as knaves than fools. All knaves think the ſame. They would rather have been eſteemed as the greateſt of knaves, than have been juſtly reprobated for idiots. All great knaves think the ſame. Nor were they either fools or idiots in reality. Nor do the preceding accounts of the rebels even *hint* that they were. "June 20," ſays the journal, "Dalgleiſhe wes "takin, and the box and letteris *quhilk he brought* "*out of the caſtell.*" "This box," ſays Buchanan, "*in the caſtell* of Edinburgh—was left be the "Erle Bothwell,—and was ſend for be ane "George Dagliſche his ſervand, *quha was takin* "*be ye Erle of Mortoun.*" Theſe do not hint in the ſlighteſt degree, at any agreement betwixt Morton and Balfour, to let the letters go out of the caſtle, and to ſtop them at a little way from

from it. They only ſay, that Dalgleiſhe came out of the caſtle with the letters, and conſequently had received them from the hands of Balfour; and that Morton ſeized him and them after they were come out. But another account which is equally derived from the rebels themſelves, goes on farther, and by its *manner* entirely precludes all this wild ſtory of an agreement betwixt Morton and Balfour. The box, ſays the Biſhop of Roſs from them, was "taken "from one Doughleyſh, the Earles man forſooth, "which letters he *received* at Edenborough *of one* "*Sir James Balfoure* TO CONVEY TO HIS MAS-"TER." The whole ſtory, therefore, is equally unfounded and falſe. It is merely the ſurmiſe of poſteriour refinement. To the juſt eye of criticiſm the original accounts appeared fraught with abſurdity, in Balfour's ſurrendering up the letters to Dalgleiſhe, for him "to convey" them "to his maſter." All conſiſtency of character was groſsly violated. Every principle of common ſenſe was given up to the clamours of forgery. An attempt was therefore made, by a ſuppoſition of what is not ſaid, and by an interpolation of what is actually precluded, to reconcile all the jarring parts of the ſtory to each other, and to lend that hiſtorical ſmoothneſs to the whole, of which it is dreadfully devoid at preſent. And the airy ſurmiſe ſerves like the ſlight wall, which an Iriſh engineer is ſaid to have raiſed before the powder-magazine of an Iriſh caſtle, not to be any guard to the magazine from its ſlightneſs, yet to indicate the place of peculi-

peculiar danger to the enemy, to attract his ſhot to the point, and to blow up the whole by the blundering artifice.

Theſe remarks are ſufficient to ſhew the wonderful infatuation, that has taken place in the fabrication of this primary part of the forgery. But I ſhall add one remark more. It is principally a chronological one. And anachroniſms are the ſtrongeſt of all poſſible proofs of forgery. The grand reaſon inſinuated by the rebels, for Bothwell's conduct in ſending for the letters about June the 20th, is this. He was juſt going to ſet out for the north, and wanted to ſecure the papers before he went. "June 20th," ſays the journal, "Dalgleiſhe—wes takin," &c. "About this tyme my Lord Buthwell fled be "ſea to the north." But the reaſon is equally impertinent and falſe.

Had he never thought of going to the north, had he actually gone to the ſouth, and had he even gone to neither, but ſtaid where he was at Dunbar; ſtill he muſt have equally wiſhed to recover his letters, and ſtill his letters muſt have been equally in danger from the rebels. But indeed his letters, if lodged in the caſtle before he left Edinborough on June the 7th, muſt on June the 20th have been beyond all chance of danger, and beyond all wiſhes for recovery. They muſt have been already in the poſſeſſion of the rebels. Nor could the deſign of departing to the north, have poſſibly ſuggeſted any effort, that would either haſten the poſſeſſion or remove the danger. And the rebels muſt have been

He actually ſtaid there two and twenty days. H did not ſet out, before the 8th of July. And w have the teſtimony of the very rebels themſelve: and the teſtimony even of their public and au thoritative acts, for this new proof of the ſpuri ouſneſs of all the circumſtances, in the aſſerte diſcovery of the letters.

Six days after the time ſpecified by the rebel: for Bothwell's flight to the north, they them- ſelves iſſued a proclamation, which proves hin to have been then in Dunbar. On the TWENTY- SIXTH of June, they made an act of council fo letters to be ſent to the heralds, &c. directing them to repair to the caſtle of Dunbar, and tc demand the ſurrendery of the caſtle to the executor of the orders within ſix hours afte notice, "becauſe the Earl of Bothwell wa "reſet and received within the ſaid caſtle."* Bothwell thus appears evidently, from the rebel orders themſelves, to have been *at that time* in the caſtle of Dunbar; though, by the rebel journal, he ought to have been halfway over the ſea to Orkney. Nor can the journal pretend to ſtand in competition with the orders. Theſe were an open and publick act of council, exe- cuted by a deed of great pomp and notoriety, a the moment; while that was a private diary conſtructed for private purpoſes, and fabricate at a late period. But the former is ſupporte by another act, equally as public and notc rious as itſelf. On the NINTH OF JULY th

* Keith, 408.

rebe

rebels firſt heard of Bothwell's actual outſet for the north. They heard of it, no doubt, within four and twenty hours after it happened. The diſtance of Dunbar from Edinborough, only ſeven and twenty miles, ſhews they muſt. They accordingly entered a charge on their council-book, upon the 9th of July, for a proclamation "prohibiting any perſon *in the iſles of Orkney* to "reſpect or be aſſiſting to him."* They knew of his outſet. They knew of his deſign in it. And they endeavoured to prevent the ſucceſs of both, by the force of terrour. Bothwell therefore put to ſea on the 8th of July, no leſs than EIGHTEEN days after the time, *about* which the Journal ſends him. He was bound for Orkney. But he landed by the way in Murray. His great uncle, Patrick Hepburn, was Biſhop of it. In his houſe, and under his tuition, he had been educated.† He therefore went to viſit him. And the rebels at Edinborough heard of his landing there, by the 14th or 15th, and again by the 18th; as on the 18th Sir Nicholas Throgmorton writes from Edinborough to Elizabeth, that "Captain Clerk—did the 16th "of this month—kill one Wilſon a ſeaman,— "about the ſhip which—was appointed by theſe "lords to go to the north of Scotland, *to im-* "*peach the paſſage of the Earle Bothell*, in caſe he "went either to the *iſles* or to any other place," and "by the death of this man, this enterprize

* Keith, 408.

† Detection, 55. Anderſon, ii. and 256. Jebb, i.

" was daſhed;" and afterwards, that " Bothell " doth *ſtill* remain in the north parts, but the " lord Seaton and Fleming, *which have been* " *there*, have utterly abandoned him, and do re- " pair hitherwards."* By the 21ſt they had received ſome freſh intelligence, concerning his movements in Murray. He had been entertained by the Biſhop at his palace of Spinie. He had been accompanied by the Biſhop to the houſes of various gentlemen in the county. They therefore iſſued a proclamation for puniſhing the Biſhop, by prohibiting his tenants from paying him their rents.† And they had heard by the ſame day, that in Murray he had " aſſembled " four or fyve ſmall ſhypes together," had " equipped and manned the ſame," and had already or was juſt going to put to ſea.‡ But their intelligence in this laſt article was erroneous. He did not leave Murray for ſeveral days afterward. On the 10th of Auguſt they give a charge in council, for letters to all owners of ſhips, ſkippers, and mariners in Dundee, to be ready in five hours with their ſhips for purſuing Bothwell and his company, who " haveing reft and ſpulzeit " diverſe ſchippis, als weil pertaining to hir " Hienes [the new and infant King's] awn ſub- " jectis, as unto ſtrangeris, freindis, and confe- " derattis of yis realm, accumpaneit with cer- " tain notorious pyrattis, *ar paſt to the ſey*, mynd- " ing to continew in yar reif and pyracie, bair

* Robertſon, ii. 376 and 377. † Anderſon, i. 134

‡ Keith, Pref. xii.

" againſt

"aganis the ſubjectis of yis realm and all na-
"tionis, *and firſt are begun at his Majeſtie's*
"*propper landis of Orknay.*"* A ſquadron of theſe ſhips accordingly put to ſea, in queſt of Bothwell at the northern iſles. And by the 30th of Auguſt they had received information, that their veſſels were "within forty miles of *Shetland*, "where *Bothwell was*," and that "the principal "man of the iſle, named Fogge, doth favour "Bothwell, it is ſaid, whereby his party ſhall be "the ſtronger."† All theſe papers ſerve to mark the progreſs of Bothwell from Dunbar to Orkney and Shetland, very diſtinctly. They ſhew him very clearly to have left Dunbar on the 8th of July, to have reached Murray about the 10th or 11th, to have arrived at Orkney in the beginning of Auguſt, and to have reached Shetland about the middle of it. They all unite together to form a regular chain of intelligence. Each links with the other. Each lends an additional ſtrength to each. And all ſerve to ſhew the reaſon aſſigned for Bothwell's ſending after the letters on June the 20th, becauſe "about that "tyme he fled be ſea to the north;" to be as much a forgery as all the other circumſtances of the diſcovery have been proved to be, to ſtand in direct contradiction to the genuine dates of his motions, and to concur with all the other parts of the pretended fact, in ſinking the whole under its own load of abſurdity and falſehood for ever.

* Anderſon, i. 145—147. † Keith, 458—459.

§ III.

WE have thus buried the rebel account of the ſeizure of the letters, in the grave of its own infamy. But let us raiſe it from the earth again, and call it to a new and a ſeverer trial. We have examined all the *circumſtantial* parts of the ſtory. Let us now examine the *eſſential*. Let us come to the main fact itſelf. We cannot be too particular, in expoſing this fundamental incident to the whole hiſtory of the rebels. And we ſhall ſee at laſt, inſtead of Dalgleiſhe and the letters being ſeized on the 20th of June, that *he* was not apprehended till nearly a month afterwards, and that *they* were not in exiſtence till ſome time after his apprehenſion. So open to aſſault on every ſide are the accounts, which the rebels have given us of the firſt appearance of the letters!

Theſe accounts indeed are only ſuch, as the rebels fabricated for the publick, long after the period aſſigned for the events. This appears in part from the date of them, the *lateſt* of the narratives being FIFTEEN MONTHS poſteriour to the events, and the *fulleſt* of them being TWO YEARS AND A HALF. And it will appear in the whole deciſively, by only comparing them with the accounts, which the rebels themſelves gave AT THE TIME. They had no gift of foreſight. They had no preſcience, of what they ſhould find it requiſite to ſay afterwards. They therefore aſſerted incidents to be true at the moment, ſome of which were true, and ſome were *falſe*, but

but all proved the falſehood and the ſpuriouſneſs of the incidents aſſerted afterwards. And we need only contraſt the later with the prior accounts, to ſee the forgery concerning the diſcovery of the letters, diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt colours.*

When the letters were firſt ſeized by the rebels, they muſt have been a prize of ſo much conſequence to their ſchemes, that the acquiſition would give a looſe to their tongues and a play to their pens, which nothing could have ſtopped for a time. In how important a light they actually conſidered them, *nearly ſix months afterwards*; we ſee in a council which they held on December the 4th, 1567. Then, wanting to found their actions on the beſt ground poſſible for their advantage, in order to impoſe upon the coming parliament; they could find no better than this of the letters. "The matter," they ſay, "being largelie and with gude deliberation "reſſonit at great lenth, and upon ſundry daies, "at laſt all the—lordis—can find no other way "or moyen [means] how to find or make the "ſaied ſecuritie," but by fixing their vindication on the footing of the letters. Theſe, they add, will vindicate all that they have done, and *all that they ſhall do* likewiſe.† In ſuch a gigantick form is this correſpondence brought forward by the rebels, even at that diſtant period;

* This argument was ſuggeſted by Dr. Stuart, who has opened it in part with equal vigour and judgment in i. 358—360, and 363—368.

† Goodall, ii. 62—63 and 67.

With Atlantean ſhoulders, fit to bear
The weight of mightieſt USURPATIONS!

Six months preceding therefore, juſt after
firſt interception of the letters, and at the v
moments of it, the rebels muſt have infinit
triumphed in their own good-fortune, and ha
infinitely inſulted over the fate of their fall
princeſs. Every act of council muſt have found
their joy among themſelves. Every proclam
tion muſt have diffuſed their diſcovery over t
kingdom. Both would have united to publi
their own juſtification, and the reprobation
their Queen, in the fulleſt and freeſt mann
together. The thunder of their public virtu
would have roared with peculiar loudneſs in h
ear. The lightning of their patriot indignatio
would have darted with peculiar fierceneſs in h
face. And ſhe would have ſtood forward to t
eye of the univerſe, a blackening monument
blaſted iniquity.

Let us therefore examine all the publick a
private papers of the time. The interval is n
a large one. The documents are not very man
They are at leaſt not ſo many, as to diſtract
with their multiplicity. Yet they are enough,
convince us by their united evidence. And
us ſee, if we can find this juſtly expected a
pearance of things in them.

Fortunately, at the firſt ſtep, we can bruſh
cloſe to the very 20th of June. We have
paper of the very day after it. On the TWENT
FIRST of June 1567, the rebels held a counc

We have a minute of it, and of their tranſactions in it, upon the council-books. The very principals of the rebellion, who were preſent, are all ſpecified. And amongſt the reſt we have MORTON, the very ſeizer of the letters the day before. Here therefore we ſhall have an amazing burſt of exultation, upon the glorious and happy incident of the day preceding. Morton will lay the whole tranſaction, with pomp and ſolemnity, before them. They will expatiate with a gay formality, upon the mighty ſervice which he has thus rendered, to the cauſe of proteſtantiſm and rebellion, liberty and uſurpation. They will return him their ſet thanks in the name of the whole community, for the meritorious deed that he has done. And all will be recorded, in the moſt ample and expreſſive manner, upon their council-books. Yet what is our aſtoniſhment, when we read the real minute of the council on that day? This is the firſt council, in which they aſſumed to themſelves the appellation, by which they continued ever afterwards to act, that of Lords of the Secret Counſel. They were therefore actuated with a higher inſolence of rebellion, than they had felt before. YET THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. This is very aſtoniſhing indeed. The members preſent were many, Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, Hume, Ruthven, Semple, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree. Theſe command all the Lords of Seſſion, advocates, writers, and all other perſons belonging to the Court of Seſſion, to return to Edinborough, and to adminiſter juſtice as before;

promiſing them ſafety in the execution of the reſpective offices, threatening them with puniſhment if they do not, and aſſuring the people at large, of a ſecurity to their perſons in their attendance on the court.* They were thus endeavouring to model their uſurpation, into a regular and orderly form of government. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. This is very aſtoniſhing indeed. We are now in the very element in which the thunder and lightning were ſure to be generated. We are now at that very point of the element, from which the thunder and lightning were ſure to iſſue. Yet the ſky is completely clear. Not one black ſpeck is to be ſeen, within the whole compaſs of it. And therefore we are fully convinced, that the letters are not yet in the hands of the rebels.

But what we have miſſed here, we ſhall find (to be ſure) a few days afterward. We have a proclamation from the rebels, upon the TWENTY-SIXTH of June. Here, then, we ſhall certainly have a formidable communication of the late diſcovery, of the infamy of Mary detected in the letters, and of the vengeance due to Bothwel and her for their joint crimes. Here we cannot but anticipate a publication, at which even *her* ear will ſtartle, and *his* cheek grow pale. And here at leaſt the rebels will

——————— a tale unfold,
To harrow up *her* ſoul, freeze *her* young blood,
Make *her* two eyes, like ſtars, ſtart from their ſpheres.

* Keith, 406.

Her knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to ſtand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.

But "this eternal blazon," it ſeems, is not even yet to be made "to ears of fleſh and blood." The proclamation is long and particular. The letters have been now intercepted theſe six days. Yet IT SAYS NOT A WORD OF THEM. This is even more aſtoniſhing than before.

"Forſameikle," it ſays, "as the Lordis of "Secreit Counſall, and utheris of the nobilitie," &c. "perſaving the miſerabill eſtate of the "common-weall, how the King, the Quene's "Majeſties lait huſband, was horriblie and "ſchamefullie murtherit, na tryell taikin thairof, "nor puniſchment execute uppon the authoris, "howbeit thai wer knawin weill enough in the "ſicht of men, *hir Hienes awin perſon treſſon-abillie raviſchit*, and thairaftir joinit with the "Erle Bothuel, principall author of the ſaid "cruell murther, in mariage;—thairfoir thai haiff "taikin on armes, to puniſch the authoris of the "ſaid cruell murther *and raviſching*," &c. Theſe were their reaſons for riſing in rebellion, on the 10th of June. They meant to puniſh Bothwell, for the murder of the King, and for the ſeizure of the Queen. They had *then*, as even their lateſt accounts acknowledge, no box of Mary's letters in their poſſeſſion. But, as thoſe accounts alledge, they had *now*. Now therefore they will alter their tone, and ſpeak with a different and a much louder voice againſt the Queen.

Queen. And they will ſpecify their new-diſcovered letters, as their great reaſon for doing : Yet they do not alter their tone at all. They ſtill continue to ſpeak in the ſame pitch of voice concerning Mary, to the very end of their proclamation. They SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

Yet they exalt their voice againſt *Bothwell*. Concerning *him* they ſay, that " of the murther " now, be juſt tryell taikin, he is found, not " onlie to have bin the inventor and devyſer " but the executer with his awin handis, as be " awin ſervantis, being in companie with him " that unworthie deid, hes teſtifiet." They have now therefore, as they intimate, apprehended ſome of Bothwell's ſervants; and theſe ſervants, as they tell us, had depoſed to all his concern with them in the murder. Yet it is evident even from themſelves, that, if they had ſeized the ſervants, *they had not ſeized the letters with them*. Had they, they could not but have dwelt upon the fact with the utmoſt explicitneſs. *Nor have they yet ſeized any of the ſervants of Bothwell*, whatever they may venture to affirm in this proclamation. They ſeized not any of them, as I ſhall ſoon prove, before the 17th or 18th of July, *three weeks poſteriour to this proclamation*. They ſhew indeed in this very paſſage that they had not, by the exaggerations ſo natural to diſſimulation, when they ſpeak of his " ſervantis" in the plural number, though in their accounts before it was only one ſervant of his, even George Dalgleiſh; and when they ſay, that " by juſt tryell taikin

he had been proved to be concerned in the murder, though no trial had been or could poſſibly have been taken, and though all Scotland muſt know none had been taken, or could have been. Such was THE BRAVERY OF FALSEHOOD in theſe men, at the very commencement of their courſe of profligacy!

But this extraordinary paſſage proves ſtill more againſt them. *It proves their own concern in the murder.* It ſhews their complete acquaintance with all the circumſtances of the murder. They ſay that Bothwell was "not onlie the inventor "and devyſer" of it, "but *the executer with* "*his awin handis*, as *his awin ſervantis*, being "*in companie with him* at that unworthie deid, "hes teſtifiet." *We* know it to be true, that Bothwell was perſonally aſſiſting at the murder, and that his ſervants were perſonally aſſiſting with him. But *they* could not know it *at that time*, unleſs they had been perſonally aſſiſting with both. Theſe particulars were not known to any but the conſpirators themſelves, as I ſhall ſoon ſhew from an authentick document of the time, before the 17th or 18th of July afterwards. Yet the rebels knew it all beforehand. They knew it, becauſe they were concerned in the murder with Bothwell. Morton particularly, their preſent leader, was judicially convicted of a concern in it afterwards. And he and they, in the overacting of their pretended zeal againſt Bothwell, were weak enough to tell ſome circumſtances of the murder to the publick, which demonſtrated their own ſhare in the murder to every reflecting mind.

mind. Such was THE WILD ERUPTION OF
in theſe men at preſent, betraying their
guilt, and pronouncing their own condemn

Yet, in this proclamation, they order the h
to proceed to the market-croſs of Edinbor
and all other places neceſſary; to publiſh
proclamation there; and ſo to prohibit all p
from receiving Bothwell into their houſ
lending him any aſſiſtance out of them, "
" the pane to be repute—as plane part
" with him in the ſaid horibill murther, ra
" ing, and uther—crymes—committit be
and of being puniſhed accordingly. The
add, that " quhaſomever will taik the ſaid
" and bring him to the burgh of Edinb
" to be puniſhit be juſtice for his demeriti
" haiff for thair reward *ane thouſand crow*
" the ſone." They thus ſhew the keeneſt al
to ſlander Bothwell, and to deſtroy his for
Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.
even prove they had *not* the letters in thei
ſeſſion at preſent, by ſpeaking at the very
of puniſhing him for the *ſeizure of the*
This the letters taught them afterwards to
ſider, as no ſeizure at all; as a mere act of
luſion between him and her, in order to
way for the marriage. But they alſo pr
any one who will take Bothwell, a rewa
" ane thouſand crownes OF THE SONE."*
thus do in words at laſt what they did in
afterwards, take the whole government into

* Anderſon, i. 139—141.

own hands, and exalt the ſon into the throne of the mother, by offering the reward as *from the ſon*. Yet they alledge not the letters in their vindication. They could appeal to them afterwards, when they had them, as an authority ſufficient to vindicate them in all that they had done, and in all that they ſhould do to the end of time. They could not even find any other vindication then, for their paſt proceedings; except the letters. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THEM at preſent. And their own account of intercepting the letters on the 20th of June, is completely diſproved by this proclamation of their own at the time, in that firſt and principal part of it, the date.

On the very ſame day with the date of this proclamation, as I have ſhewn in the laſt ſection, they commanded the heralds to go to Dunbar caſtle, and demand the delivery of it within ſix hours, becauſe it had received Bothwell into it. Yet in this, as well as in the proclamation, THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. And, in ſuch a caſe as this, the argument of their ſilence is as full an evidence of their not having the letters at preſent, as is any incidental mention of circumſtances contrary to the letters.

We have afterwards no other papers of the time, till JULY THE SECOND. Then the rebels thought it for their intereſt, to allure the city of Edinborough into their aſſociation. This capital of Scotland, like our own capital, was always ready to lend its ear to the clamours of ſedition, and to give its hand to the operations of rebellion. All great towns are naturally impregnated, from

from the collected multitude of their inhabitants and from the conſequent predominance of vulgarity over ſentiment, with the principles of faction and folly in their very conſtitution. Thus our own London has in all ages been diſtinguiſhed by that low and groveling turn of thinking which makes it only a box of tinder, ready to catch fire from any the clumſieſt applications of impoſture. Edinborough was a mere London at this period, though upon a ſcale of importance and activity much more contracted. It was equally willing to preſent itſelf, as a humble dupe to the deſigns of the factious. MORTON and Athol, therefore, the firſt a preſbyterian and the ſecond a papiſt, in the name of others who were neither papiſts nor preſbyterians probably, appeared by agreement in the city-council on the ſecond of July, and invited the city to form to ſign a writing of aſſociation with them. And they produced a writing for the purpoſe which the citizens agreed ſhould be ſigned immediately by their provoſt in their name. Yet even this writing SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. It was merely the ſame writing indeed which the rebels themſelves had ſigned on the SIXTEENTH of June before. "2. Julii, 1567," ſays the regiſter of the town-council,—"comparit nobil and michtie lordis, my Lord Erlis of Mortoun and Atholl, having with thame the maiſt honourabil and godlie band laitlie maid and ſubſcrivit be *ane greit partie of the nobilitie* of this realme," &c. This band was ſubſcribed "be *thair lordſchips* and *utheris*

"*of*

"*of the nobilitie* of this realme," as an *atteſted copy* of *this* act of the city-council, with a very remarkable recoil from falſehood in the original to truth in the copy, ſtates the real fact to have been, upon the 16th day of June before, *four* days *antecedent* to the affirmed ſeizure of the letters.* And this, like that, obliges the ſubſcribers "upon the reſpect of thair dutie towart "thair *Soveraine*," to ſee the murder puniſhed, the Queen's marriage with Bothwell diſſolved, and "our ſaid Soveraine to be *relevit* of the "thraldome, bondage, ignominie, and ſchame, "quhilk ſcho hes ſuſtenit and underlies through "the ſaid Erlis occaſion;"† a full and complete evidence, that the rebels were no more in poſſeſſion of the letters on the 2nd of July, than they were on the 16th of June before.

The next paper that we have of the time, is an act of council dated the SEVENTH of July. It is now more than a *fortnight*, ſince the pretended ſeizure of the letters. Yet in all the publick documents, that have been hitherto iſſued by the rebels themſelves, there is not a ſingle ſyllable concerning them. When therefore did the letters firſt appear in reality? Whenever they appeared, they certainly appeared not upon the day ſtated by the rebels. They conſequently come forward to us at once,

With all the tokens of a knave complete.

But let us purſue the track of light that we have been following, and trace it with a patient

* Anderſon, i. 134. † Keith, 409, and Anderſon, i. 137.

activity

activity onwards, till it leads us to the very
pearance of the letters. We ſhall thus fix a c
ble note of falſehood, upon the aſſerted ſei
of them. And we ſhall ſee the letters th
ſelves ſinking before us, under a double loa
forgery. In this act of July the ſeventh, t
the rebels take a bolder ſtep than ever. T
had already ſeized the power of the crown. T
had already ſeized the moveable property o
They now made a ſeizure of its patrimony. T
took the Queen's hereditary revenue from
by prohibiting all payments to the Que
comptroller, under penalty to the payers of pay
the ſame over again, and of ſuffering under t
uſual engine of terrour to the nation, by be
condemned as parties in the murder of
King. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF
LETTERS, to juſtify their conduct. They e
ſhew, that they had *not* the letters at all.
they ſtill continue to ſpeak, as they ſpoke *be*
the 20th of June, concerning Bothwell's ſeiz
of the Queen. And the penalty denoun
againſt all who paid their rents to the con
troller, is not merely to be puniſhed as par
in the murder, but to be alſo puniſhed as acc
ſaries to the Queen's ſeizure. They are to
" purſued as art and part of the King's mur
" AND THE QUEEN'S RAVISHMENT."*

On the NINTH of July we have another
of council. Yet even this SAYS NOT A WO
OF THE LETTERS. It only forbids " any per

* Keith, 410—411.

"in the iſles of Orkney to reſpect or be aſſiſting "to" Bothwell.*

Below the ninth of July therefore, and NINETEEN days after the 20th of June, we are ſure that the rebels had not yet got the letters into their poſſeſſion. We have ſeen much zeal againſt Bothwell; yet we ſee no intimations of the letters. We have ſeen ſome againſt Mary; but it has been all covered and diſguiſed. The marriage of the Queen with the Earl, is repeatedly urged as an intolerable offence in itſelf; and is always attributed to the force, which he put upon her perſon. That the murderers of the King were not puniſhed, is equally dwelt upon, as a ſtain and ſtigma of diſhonour upon the whole nation; and is equally aſcribed to the influence, which he had gained over her mind. So cautiouſly did the rebels proceed at firſt againſt the Queen, even after they had entangled her by the ſeizure, and fettered her by the marriage! Almoſt all their *publick* activity of calumniation, was confined entirely to Bothwell. Nothing was *publickly* ſaid againſt Mary, except by diſtant inferences and ſecret inſinuations. And thus, though they had the impudence to impriſon her perſon, they had not the effrontery to calumniate her character. This ſhews very clearly the good opinion, which the generality of the nation entertained of her at preſent, notwithſtanding the murder, the ſeizure, and the marriage. But it ſhews, much more clearly

* Keith, 408.

ſtill, the abſolute non-exiſtence of the letters i this period. When they fabricated the letter they muſt have totally altered their plan of co duct. When they produced the letters, eith by deſcription or by exhibition; the publi- muſt have been equally changed in their mo of thinking. Then it was, and not till th that their thunder began to roll, and th lightning to flaſh, againſt Bothwell and M united. At preſent their lightning, e againſt Bothwell, is little more than the pl houſe lightning of brimſtone. And their th der againſt Mary is not even ſo much, as playhouſe

———thunder of the muſtard-bowl.

We thus leave the public papers of the rebe becauſe we can now come to ſome private one that give us intelligence equally derived fro the rebels, and more circumſtantial and ful We now come to Throgmorton's diſpatches Elizabeth. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was ſe into Scotland by Elizabeth, on the infamo violation of every principle of honour, of dut and of decency in the rebels, when they ſeize carried away, and locked up in a priſon, t amiable and worthy Queen, who had come ov to them in a too dignified reliance upon t probity of wretches, that had ſcarcely a gra in their whole compoſition. But they we twin-ſouls to Elizabeth. They, like her, cou make the moſt ſacred promiſes, and break the inſtant

inſtantly. They, like her, could pretend to the moſt exalted principles of Chriſtianity, and yet do what a heathen would have bluſhed to do. Their Jupiter laughed at the perjuries of rebellion. And the rebels, particularly, were ſome of the moſt abandoned miſcreants, that the hiſtory of human hypocriſy holds up to our view. But Elizabeth *now* pretended to pity the Queen, to take part with her, and to reſolve upon her reſtoration to liberty. She accordingly ſent Throgmorton as her embaſſadour into Scotland, with inſtructions dated the 30th of June, to demand her liberty from the rebels, and to threaten them with the vengeance of England if they did not comply. They did not comply, yet no vengeance was hurled down upon them. They poſitively refuſed, at the very opening of the buſineſs, to releaſe the Queen from her priſon; and they at laſt turned the very ſolicitations of Elizabeth for the releaſe, into a reaſon for carrying their meaſures againſt the Queen to extremity, and for forcing the Queen to reſign up her crown for ever. Yet Elizabeth made not a ſingle movement of hoſtility, to reſent the additional inſult ſhewn to the Queen, and to avenge the additional indignity offered to herſelf. She, who had been ſo prompt before, and who was ſo prompt afterwards, to line the cauſe of rebellion there with her aid, to aſſiſt the enemies of mary, and to cruſh her friends; and ſhe, who by ſending only one thouſand men into Scotland this moment, might have re-eſtabliſhed the whole kingdom upon its natural center of reſt

again; even ſhe ſent not a ſingle ſoldier Scotland now, to effectuate her own purp and to ſupport her own conſequence, in the livery of Mary from her priſon. To have d this indeed, would have been to act with honourable and a generous policy. But El beth's was all of the low and creeping kind. had not agility of ſoul enough, to mount to the other. She, like the ſerpent which rivalled in cunning and in miſchief, was alv crawling upon the ground. And at the time that ſhe was ſending Throgmorton Scotland, under pretence of procuring releaſe of Mary from the priſon of the reb we incidentally know her to have been act by her prime miniſter Cecil, in a vigorous c cert with them.

On June the twenty-ſixth, only four before the date of Throgmorton's inſtructi Cecil wrote to the Engliſh embaſſadour at F in theſe ſignificant terms. "At this time," ſays, "I ſend unto you *certain packets of le* "left here *by Mr. Melvin*, who lately came hi "from the Queen of Scotts." This was Sir bert Melvill, who was ſent in the prece month of May, and juſt after the Queen's n riage with Bothwell, to explain the reaſons c to Elizabeth.* "The ſending of theſe" pack adds Cecil, "TO MY LORD OF MURRAY, "quireth *great haſte*, whereof you may not m "*the Scottiſh embaſſadour privy*." Yet Me

* Anderſon, i. 89 and 102—107.

tho

though equally an embaſſadour from Mary, was ſuch a perfidious wretch, as to carry them to London for the rebels, even while he was going in a publick capacity for Mary. "But I think," ſays Cecil, "you may make Robert Steward," the reputed aſſaſſin of a French preſident, "privy; with whom you may confer for the "*ſpeedy* ſending away of the ſame letters. His "RETURN INTO SCOTLAND IS MUCH DESIRED OF "THEM." So early had the rebels prepared their meaſures of uſurpation; ſo cloſely were they united with Murray in them; ſo particularly did they requeſt his return into Scotland, even in the month of May, when he had only left them on the ninth of April before;* and ſo fully was Elizabeth in the ſecret of all! "And," as Cecil goes on, "*for the weal both of England* "*and Scotland*, I wiſh he were *here*: and for the "manner of his returning, touching his *ſafety*, "I *pray* require Mr. Steward to have *good care*." Elizabeth and Cecil, we ſee, were uncommonly ſolicitous for the ſafe return of this darling babe of grace, to co-operate actively with the rebels and with Elizabeth, and to lend his hand and head in deſtroying his ſiſter. All this reflects a ſtrong light back upon Elizabeth's proceedings, at the conferences in England. It ſhews her flagitiouſneſs ſtill more plainly than before. It ſhews ſhe was only acting then the ſame part, which ſhe had been previouſly acting. She was only winding up her bottoms in iniquity. She

* Appendix, No. x.

was only finiſhing her career of profligacy. But ſhe was not content *at preſent* to do all this by her faithful Cecil, in favour of the conſpirators againſt Mary. She did more. As he had written the letter above, a few days *before* Throgmorton ſet out for Scotland; ſo he wrote another, a few days *after* Throgmorton ſet out. On the fourteenth of July he wrote thus: "If "MY LORD OF MURRAY ſhould lack credit for "money, my Lord Steward," the Earl of Pembrook, "*would have his ſon give him ſuch credit* "*as he hath.*"† Elizabeth was fearful, leſt Murray's uſeful return ſhould be delayed by the want of money. Her prime miniſter therefore writes to her embaſſadour, to point out the perſon who will advance him as much as he wants, without any limitation. And Elizabeth, who by a penurious conduct often ſtarved her warlike expeditions, and deprived them of their full effectiveneſs, expended her money very freely in all the dirty ſervices of intrigue. All diſplays the hypocriſy of Elizabeth in the preſent embaſſy, very clearly. A mind, long practiſed in hypocriſy, takes ſuch a ſettled bend and warp with it, that it cannot be ſtraightened again, but retains its crookedneſs for ever.

Indeed the releaſe of Mary was only the oſtenſible object of the preſent embaſſy. The real aim of it was, to get the prince, the infant ſon of Mary, into her hands. This is apparent from the continual urgency of Elizabeth con-

† Cabala, 1ſt part, 128—129, and Keith, 442. See alſo Crawford, 25, and Jebb, ii. 220.

cerning

cerning the point, during the whole of this embaſſy, and even for years after it.* The cunning of Elizabeth was perpetually laying ſnares for her knaviſhneſs. It was now ſtimulating her to an act, which promiſed her ſome ſecurity from the Scotch, and which muſt have terminated at laſt in the atrociouſneſs of murder. The fate of the mother tells us with an infallible certainty, what would have been the fortune of the ſon, if Elizabeth had ſucceeded in her views. But the ſon was ſaved from the extended claws of this harpy, to ſucceed her on her throne, to unite two high-ſpirited and ever-warring kingdoms in peace, and to lay the foundation of all our commercial greatneſs. And the mother fell a victim to thoſe political deſigns, which were originally calculated for the ſon; and which, if thoſe deſigns had been carried into execution in all their natural train of conſequences, muſt have involved both the ſon, the mother, and the whole iſland, in one common deſtruction.†

For

* Keith, 413—414, 420, 422, Robertſon, ii. 368, 369, Diſſ. 23, Goodall, ii. 325, 329, Crawford, 358, and Moyſe, 50 and 52.

† There is a paſſage in Moyſe's Memoirs to this purpoſe, which is little known, and yet very remarkable. In 1587, he ſays, and "upon the 27th of May or thereabout, the "[new] Earl of Bothwell apprehended and challenged an "*Engliſhman*, who *was ſent into Scotland* on purpoſe to *poiſon* "the King's Majeſty, or to *take him away by ſome indirect means.* "It was *ſaid* at the time, that he was induced thereto by *the* "*Queen of England* and *her council.* This knave was ex-

 "amined

For the execution of Elizabeth's preſent ſcheme, Throgmorton was ſelected, who had been on an embaſſy to Mary before, who appears to have behaved with a paltry policy in it,* and who had even diſhoneſty enough to engage in this iniquitous meaſure of Elizabeth's concerning the ſon. He would have been perhaps a man of virtue and integrity in private life.† But a new ſyſtem of ethicks, it ſeems, had been even then invented for publick life, which diſcards virtue as a ſuperfluity, and rejects integrity as an incumbrance. Embaſſadours of nations, and miniſters of ſtate, thus think themſelves at liberty, and even ſuppoſe themſelves compelled by neceſſity, to do many things in their political capacity, which in their perſonal would deſervedly brand them for ſcoundrels. They may fancy themſelves, by this mode of acting, ſtanding nobly forward like the Decii of Rome, and devoting themſelves to the DÎ MANES for the good of their country. And, in reality, they are only acting with all the ſcandalous diſhoneſty of a horſe-dealer, who will tell ten thouſand lies in the ſale of a ſingle horſe, will vouch them to be truths with the ſolemneſt air of hypocriſy, will afterwards acknowledge their falſity when they have done their intended ſervice, and then laugh at the fools that were cheated by a con-

" amined by *his Majeſty himſelf*, and *confeſſed* the form of that " treaſonable enterprize, which I remit to his depoſition; and " thereupon he was committed to ward within the caſtle of " Edinburgh." P. 128.

* Keith, 280, 282, &c. † Melvill, 46 and 60.

fidence

fidence in them. But this was peculiarly the caſe, with the miniſters and embaſſadours of Elizabeth.

Thoſe numerous worthies of the maiden reign, of whom *vulgar* hiſtory is ſo full, were, many of them, only ſuperior adepts in the immoral policy of a horſe-dealer. Throgmorton, particularly, had been bred up in this court. He had imbibed a portion of this ſpirit. And he ſhews he had, at the very admiſſion into the activities of his office; when he was now at Berwick on the 11th of July, juſt ready to enter upon Scottiſh ground. "I am ſorry to ſee," he then writes to Cecil, "that the Queen's Majeſty's diſpoſition "altereth not towards the [rebel] lords; for when "all is done, *it is they which muſt ſtand her more* "*in ſtead than the Queen her couſin*, and will be "*better* inſtruments *to work ſome benefite and quiet-* "*neſs to her Majeſty and her realme*, than the Queen "of Scotland, which is void of good fame."* This is conceived and expreſſed in the very ſpirit of Elizabethan jockeyſhip in politicks. All the great principles of religion, were to be given up to the calls of publick expediency. Juſtice, honour, compaſſion, and generoſity, all that is great in the goſpel, and all that is glorious in man under it, is to be trampled upon by the cloven-foot of policy, in order to ſerve ſome petty ſhifts and ſhuffles for ſecuring England's and Elizabeth's quietneſs. Mary was diſabled from acting with Elizabeth, in ſending her ſon

* Robertſon, ii. 365. See alſo 378—379.

into

into England; and Elizabeth therefore was to unite with her enemies againſt her. And, as Mary was ſlandered by her enemies, ſhe was therefore to be cruſhed by Elizabeth and by them in union, for a woman "void of good "fame." Such are the poor creatures, that take upon themſelves to manage the affairs of nations and that fancy themſelves the beſt calculated to manage them, becauſe they are poor creatures! But, from this ignoble turn of thinking and acting, Throgmorton won more upon the confidence of the rebels, than a man of more exalted ſentiments could have done. He came nearer to their own low level. He was alſo more open to all their inſinuations againſt Mary. And from the joint influence of both, he was the better able to inform us of many particulars in the aſſertions of the rebels, which now prove eventually in favour of Mary, and which particularly ſhew their forgery in this great and initial part of the hiſtory of the letters, the pretended ſeizure of them and Dalgleiſhe upon the 20th of June.

Throgmorton entered Scotland on the ELEVENTH of July. He lay that night at Faſt-Caſtle, a ſeat of Lord Hume's; and was there received by Lord Hume, Lethington, and James Melvill, a brother to Robert the *ambi-dexter* embaſſadour before, and as *ambi-dexter* as he in his political conduct.* He inſtantly began with them upon the buſineſs of this embaſſy. He

* Goodall, i. Pref. xviii—xxvii and 288.

mentioned

mentioned his firſt overture to them from his miſtreſs, the releaſe of Mary from priſon. But Lethington, who ſpoke for the reſt, refuſed to accede to this in the moſt peremptory manner. "As to the Queen's liberty," Throgmorton tells us, "which was the firſt head that I propoſed, "they ſaid, *that thereby they did perceive that the* "*Queen wants their undoing*, for, as for the reſt "of the matters, *it was but folly to talk of them*, "the liberty *going before*." They thus declared explicitly, it would be folly even to treat upon any other points, unleſs the requiſition for Mary's liberty was previouſly withdrawn. So reſolute were they at the very firſt opening of the buſineſs, and in defiance of all the threatenings of Elizabeth, to keep Mary ſtill in priſon! Yet THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS, in order to palliate this determined ſeverity to Elizabeth.

It now appears alſo, that the rebels had ſome time before addreſſed a letter to Elizabeth, for aſſiſtance in money. They knew her well, or they could not have been capable of making ſuch an application to her. They now reſent her total neglect of their addreſs. Yet they acknowledge themſelves to be more apprehenſive, of the conſequences of her conduct towards them, than of the interpoſition of the French, or the oppoſition of the royaliſts. So eaſy was it for Elizabeth at this period, by the ſmalleſt exertion of generoſity and vigour, to have procured that releaſe by her arms, which ſhe pretended to inſiſt upon by her memorials!

Yet NOT A WORD HAS BEEN SAID OF THE L TERS hitherto to Elizabeth.

Lethington however, in order to play France upon England, and to promote the vi of uſurpation by both, diſcloſed a little of plan, that was now begun to be ſeriouſly agit among them, and that was finally purſued v ſome variations by them. A French emba dour was coming, he ſaid, " to deliver them " their Queen for ever, who ſhall lead her " in France in a abby recluſed, the prince " the French devotion, the realm governed " a council of their election of the Scottiſh " tion, the forts committed to the cuſtody " ſuch as ſhall be choſen amongſt themſelves They were thus mounting already in imagi tion, to the very meridian of their glory greatneſs. They were even now meditating conſummate all their enormities, in that cloſ deed of villainy, the formal depoſition of th ſovereign. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF T LETTERS.

Throgmorton went to Edinborough on TWELFTH, accompanied by the ſame perſons; reached it that night. The rebel lords in to were MORTON, the pretended ſeizer of the l ters on the 20th of June before, Athol, Hur Lethington, SIR JAMES BALFOUR, the preten deliverer of the letters to the perſon ſeized w them, and ſtill captain of the caſtle, Mr. Jar Macgill, and the preſident of the ſeſſion. I the next day being Sunday, and a day " a " pointed for a ſolemne communion" in

* Robertſon, ii. 366—367.

tow

town, and even, according to the primæval abſurdity of Preſbyterianiſm, for "a ſolemne faſt" too; he could not be admitted to an audience with them. He urged Lethington, however, for a ſpeedy admittance. He urged MORTON, whom he met by chance. In the afternoon Lethington came to him. It then appeared, that though the day was a day of ſolemn communion and of ſolemn faſt, and though it therefore prohibited them from hearing *him* on the ſubject of his embaſſy, yet it had not prohibited them from meeting and conſulting together on the ſubject. They had heard of the embaſſadour's intended overtures from Lethington. He himſelf now came "on the behalfe of the lords and "others," to tell him, that they begged he would defer the audience, till they could ſend for the abſent lords. He alſo informed him, that they could not even grant him the requeſt which he had made, of having ACCESS to the Queen; for fear forſooth, leſt they ſhould offend the King of France, to whoſe embaſſadour they had equally refuſed acceſs before. So reſolute were they, in cutting off all intercourſe between the impriſoned Queen and the embaſſadours of both nations; that they might be at liberty to forge falſehoods, and to create calumnies, againſt her without reſtraint. And yet, though by their poſteriour accounts the letters had been now in their poſſeſſion more than THREE WEEKS, they DID NOT SAY A SINGLE SYLLABLE CONCERNING THEM.

Throgmorton, having mentioned all this in a diſpatch

diſpatch to Elizabeth, then proceeds "to advertize her Majeſty of the ſtate of all things, as he has learned ſince his coming thither." He accordingly ſpeaks of Mary, as "in good health within her priſon. The Lord Ruthven is no longer one of her guards, "becauſe he began to ſhew great favour to the Queen, and to give her intelligence." She is now "guarded by the Lord Lindſay, and Lochleven the owner of the houſe." She is "waited on with five or ſix ladies, four or five gentlewomen, and two chamberers, whereof one is a Frenchwoman." But this intimation, concerning the largeneſs of the Queen's houſehold in priſon, we know to be a falſehood impoſed upon Throgmorton by the rebels. She has here "five or ſix ladies" and "four or five gentlewomen" about her; yet, only four days afterwards, Throgmorton himſelf tells us, "ſhe required to have ſome other gentlewomen about her, naming none." She has here "two chamberers;" yet then ſhe requires "to have a varlet of the chamber." And in fact, as we know undoubtedly from herſelf, ſhe had ſcarcely any of theſe attendants about her; her whole houſehold conſiſting of two women, a man-cook, and a ſurgeon. "Ils m'on tenue," ſays Mary to Elizabeth in a letter of May 17, 1568, "ſans ſerviteurs que *deus femmes*, et un "*cuiſinier*, et *un chirurgien*."* So lying do the rebels appear, in this ſlight circumſtance concerning the impriſoned Mary, at preſent!

* Robertſon, ii. 375, and Anderſon, iv. part i. 31.

The

The "Earle of Buchan, *the Earle of Murray's brother*," ſay Throgmorton's informants, "hath "alſo liberty to come to her at his pleaſure." Lindſay and Lochlevin "doe keep her very "ſtraitly, and, as far as I can perceive, their "rigour proceedeth by their order from theſe "men, becauſe that the Queen will not by any "means be induced to lend her authority to "proſecute the murder, nor will not conſent by "any perſwaſion to abandon the Lord Bothell for "her huſband, but avoweth conſtantly that ſhe "will live and die with him; and ſaith, that if "it were put to her choice to relinquiſh her "crown and kingdom or the Lord Bothell, ſhe "would leave her kingdom and dignity, to go "as a ſimple damſel with him, and that ſhe will "never conſent that he ſhall fare worſe, or have "more harm, than herſelf." I have tranſcribed this paſſage in all its pointedneſs againſt Mary, to ſhew the deſperate promptitude of the rebels to calumniate her at this period. They had always been exerciſing this promptitude in ſecret, even while they were pretending to vindicate her reputation, and to reſcue her perſon, from the degrading bands of a Bothwell. But they now began to be bolder. They wiſhed to win Elizabeth completely to them by their lies. They therefore communicated this ſlander to Throgmorton. Though they had precluded him from all acceſs to her, and *then* told him all theſe calumnies againſt her; yet he was too partial to the cauſe of triumphant rebellion, not to believe all that they ſaid of an impriſoned Queen.

He

He therefore received all, without any check from his diſcernment. And he therefore reported all to Elizabeth, without any reſtraint from his generoſity. His generoſity was overpowered by his policy, and his diſcernment was ſmothered by his credulity.

What is here ſaid of the Queen, that ſhe "will "not by any means be induced to lend her au- "thority to proſecute the murder," had been aſſerted before by the rebels on June the 15th, when we know it to be abſolutely falſe; and is retracted even by the rebels themſelves in a letter of Throgmorton's juſt after the preſent, in which he acknowledges from them, that, in a *letter* of the Queen's to them, "ſhe yieldeth in words," and therefore in reality, as words were all that were aſked by them, and all that could be given by her, "to the proſecution of the murder."* With regard to the other point, her aſſerted attachment to Bothwell, the whole relation is directly oppoſed by a fact, and the private anecdote is confronted by public hiſtory. Mary had actually abandoned Bothwell near a month before. She had abandoned him in open day, in a moſt ſtriking manner, and in the preſence of her own and the rebel armies. This all hiſtory teſtifies. And any accounts of her ſpirit and ſpeeches afterwards, that are contrary to this, and that are at the ſame time derived from men, who were at once the uſurpers of her power, the impriſoners of her perſon, and the only poſſible

* Robertſon, ii. 375. And ſee Cabala, 1ſt. part, 128.

reporter

eporters of her temper and ſayings in priſon, re as light as vanity itſelf in the ſcale againſt it. ut this very maſs of calumnies was revived fterwards by the rebels, and formally brought gainſt Mary at the conferences in England. Mary by this means had an opportunity of know-ig and anſwering it, by her commiſſioners. Her nſwer is clear and ſtrong. It runs thus. "Thay," ie ſays, "nor nane of thame, either *befoir* the marriage or *efter*, cam to her Hienes, as the part of trew ſubjects ſhould haif done, know-ing at that tyme, as thay affirme, the contrare [that Bothwell was concerned in murdering the King], either *privatelie* or *oppinly* to find fault with the ſaid Erle concerning the murder forſaid, or yet in any wayſe ſeemit to *grudge* or *diſallow* the ſaid marriage, *unto ſic tyme* thay had practizit *the keipar of the caſtell of Edin-burgh* and *proveſt of the town* to be *thair aſ-ſiſtaris*; and then ſecreitlie tuke armis, and upon the ſuddan on the nyght with thair forces environit the caſtell of Borthwik, quhair her Majeſtie was in quiet and peaciabill manner. So that *thair firſt warning* was *be ſownd of trumpet* and thair *ſycht in armis*. And her Grace eſchaping to Dunbar, quhairthrow thay could nocht attain to thair conſpyrit purpos, returnit ſuddenlie to Edinburgh, raiſit bandis of men of weir, ſet out thair proclamatiounis, *affirming the ſame to be for her relief*, umbeſett hir way betwixt hir Grace's caſtellis of Dunbar and Edinburgh. And her Majeſtie willing, for the tender luif her Hienes bair her ſub-

" jectis, to ſtanch all effuſioun of blude amongſ
" thayme, *did nocht prefer the impunitie of th*
" *Erle Boythwell to her awn honor*, in *ſeeing hi*
" *conweyit away*" [which was an additional ſlan-
der of theirs], " as in their anſwer is contenit
" For thay, being on the feild in arrayit battel
" aganis hir Majeſtie, ſend [ſent] the Laird o
" Grange to hir Hienes, and deſyrit her Grac
" to *caus* the Erle Boythwell *paſs off the feildis*
" alleging him ſuſpect of the ſaid cryme, *unt*
" *the tyme the caus mycht be tryit*; and that he
" Grace wald paſs with thame, and uſe th
" counſall of her nobilitie, and *thay ſould honour*
" *ſerve, and obey her Majeſtie* as *thair Princes an*
" *Sovereigne:* And *upon thair promeis*, for eſchew
" ing of bludeſhed, as ſaid is, her Majeſt
" conſentit thairto, and paſſit with the ſaid Lair
" of Grange to thame, quho at the ſamyn tym
" TUIK THE ERLE BOYTHWELL BE THE HAND, an
" BAID HIM DEPART, PROMISING THAT NA MA
" SHOWLD FOLOW NOR PURSEW HIM; and ſwa
" THAIR AWIN CONSENT HE PAST AWAY: An
" gif they had bene myndit to perſew him onli
" thay wald nocht haif left the doing of all dil
" gence was poſſible, quhairthrow he mycht ha
" bene tane; bot fra [from the time] thay ha
" gottin her Majeſtie's perſoun in their hand
" thay maid *na travell nor perſuit* aganis him
" *ſa lang as he was in the countrey neir thame*
" quhair he remanit *ane gryte ſpace*, and mych
" haif apprehendit him more eſilie; nor quhai
" [for] *lang tyme*, he being furth of the realm
" and unrecoverabill, *maid ane colorit maner of*
" *ſeiking*

"*ſeiking him upon the ſey*; as now it appeiris "manifeſt, it was nocht him they ſocht, bot "thair awin particular profit; quhairthrow to "all men of haill judgement it may appere, hir "Grace preferrit nocht his eſchaiping and im-"punitie to hir awin honour; for quhatſoever "was left ondone in that behalfe, it may maiſt "juſtlie be laid to thair awin charge. And "thairafter, *at her Grace's firſt cuming to thame on "the feildis*, the Erle of MORTOUN ſaid to hir "Majeſtie *with gryte reverence*, Madame, hair "is the place zour Grace ſhould be, and we will "HONOUR, SERVE, and OBEY ZOW, AS EVER THE "NOBILITIE OF THIS REALME DID ANY OF ZOUR "PROGENITORS OF BEFOIR; and haiſing RATIFYIT "the promeis maid be the Laird of Grange in "thair names, hir Majeſtie paſſing with thame "to Edinburgh, *being ludgit in ane ſempill burges "hous* (ſetting aſyde her awin pallaces and "caſtellis), and *ruidlie and rigourouſlie entreatit "be thame*, contrare thair promeis, being thair "Princes and Sovereigne, it was na wounder in "caſe her Majeſtie had gevin thame quick and "ſcharp anſweris, (as we belief) nocht unrea-"ſonablie; bot WAS ALWAYS CONTENT, tuitching "ONY thing allegit be thame, TO OFFER THE "SAME TO BE REFORMIT be the tryall of the haill "nobilitie and eſtaitis of the realme, *her Grace "being preſent and heard*; and TO THAT EFFECT "DIRECTIT HER SECRETARE LETHINGTOWN TO "THAIR COUNSALL that held her captive at that "tyme, and WAS ALUTERLIE [utterly] REFUSIT "THAIROF; and maid NA offer to leif the realme,

" that her Grace mycht poſſeſſe the Erle Boith
" well, as thay allege. And thairefter her Grac
" was ſecretlie convoyit perforce, and aganis he
" will, in the nycht, and impriſonit within th
" fortalice of Lochlevin."*

This is a full and circumſtantial anſwer to th original ſlanders in Throgmorton's diſpatch, an to the additional calumnies fabricated afterward by the rebels. They never ventured to contro vert the facts in this anſwer. And it ſtands a eternal monument of their verbal forgeries again Mary. But it ſtands a monument of ſomethin more. The colliſion of one falſehood wi another, has often demonſtrated the forgery o both. It does ſo here. And this was th great reaſon, for my proving the falſehood o Throgmorton's reported ſlanders, by ſo long quotation. In thoſe, the rebels ſhew their vi rulent eagerneſs to calumniate their Queen. Th more virulent is their calumny, the greater ap pears to be their eagerneſs. They have eve gone ſo far in both, as to report what undermine its own credibility by its exaggerations, and betray its forgery by its extravagance; that Mary pro teſted ſhe would reſign her crown, and go as a ſimple damſel, to wander over the world with Bothwell. Yet, in all this wild rage of calum niation againſt her, when they were ſo deſperately bent upon laying her honour and dignity in the duſt, THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. Had the letters been now diſcovered, they could

* Goodall, II. 164—166.

no

not but have mentioned them, they could not but have produced them. Either way, they would have overpowered the embaſſadour with them. They would have ſet their foot firmly upon them. They would then have ſhaken the too yielding heart of the embaſſadour, moſt effectually, from them. But THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. The letters, therefore, were not yet diſcovered. And the account, which the rebels gave afterward of their ſeizing Dalgleiſhe and the letters on the 20th of June, is all a ſolemn banter upon the credulity of the times.

But we may re-urge the argument with equal efficacy, from another report in the letter. This is very different from the other. It is indeed quite oppoſite to it. Yet it carries the ſame book of expreſſiveneſs, and ſpeaks with the ſame tone of energy, in favour of Mary. "As far "as I can perceave," adds the embaſſadour, "they intend not either to touch the Queen in "ſuerty or in HONOUR, for THEY DO SPEAK OF "HER WITH RESPECT AND REVERENCE." If the letters had been *now* diſcovered, they could *not* have intended not to touch the Queen in her honour, they could *not* have ſpoken of her with reſpect and reverence. They muſt have intended to aſſault her honour violently. They muſt have ſpoken of her as an adulterous ſtrumpet. They muſt have loaded her name with foul imputations of murder.

To theſe evidences out of this important letter, I ſhall ſubjoin one more. Nor am I afraid

of dwelling too long upon it. In an argument o this nature, the force of the whole ariſes from a accumulation of parts. And the more rays o intelligence are brought to meet in one centre the ſtronger will be the blaze of conviction " Againſt the 20th day of this month," ſay Throgmorton, " there is a generall aſſembly o " all the churches, ſhires, and boroughs town " of this realm, namely of ſuch as be contented t " repair to theſe lords to this town, where it i " thought the whole ſtate of this matter will b " handled, and I fear me much to the Queen' " *diſadvantage* and *danger*; unleſs the Lord c " Lidington, and ſome others which be beſt a ſ " fected unto her, do provide ſome remedy; fc " I perceave *the great number*, and in manne " *all*, but *chiefly* the *common people*, which *ha* " *aſſiſted in theſe doings*, do greatly *diſhonour* th " Queen, and mind ſeriouſly either her *depriva* " *tion* or her *deſtruction*.—The chiefeſt of th " lords which be here preſent at this time, c " not ſhew ſo much lenity to the Queen as " think they could be contented, for fear of *t* " *rage of the people*. The *women be moſt furio* " *and impudent* againſt the Queen, and yet th " *men be mad enough*; ſo as a ſtranger over-bu ſ " *may ſoon be made a ſacrifice amongſt them*." Th rebel leaders had been artfully working up th ſpirits of the ignorant and inflammable mob with their private ſuggeſtions of ſlander again Mary, even while they were publickly avowing themſelves, the aſſertors of her reputation, and th vindicators of her liberty; till at laſt a ſtorm wa

beginning

beginning to ariſe among the populace, which would enable them to throw off the maſque that they had hitherto worn, and to appear in their proper characters. The populace are generally as heady as they are honeſt, and as violent in their reſolves as they are weak in their underſtandings. But, though we have ſeen the lords abuſively and boldly ſlanderous againſt Mary, THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. We now ſee the commonalty openly inflamed againſt her. The men are "mad" in their animoſity to her. The women are ſtill more "furious and "impudent" in their ſpeeches concerning her. Betwixt both, her honour, and even her life, are in danger. Even an embaſſadour, even Elizabeth's, even a Throgmorton, was apprehenſive of being torn to pieces, if he ſhewed himſelf "over-buſie" to avert the threatened dangers. And yet theſe political Bedlamites did not, any more than their keepers the lords, SAY A SINGLE SYLLABLE CONCERNING THE LETTERS.*

On the SIXTEENTH, Throgmorton wrote to Elizabeth an account of his tranſactions with the lords ſince the 14th, and of their anſwer to him. But this diſpatch is now loſt. We have only an intimation concerning it, in a ſubſequent diſpatch. Throgmorton then ſays to Elizabeth thus: "It may pleaſe your Majeſty, you might "perceave by *my letters of the 16th*, how far I "had proceeded with theſe lords, and what was "their anſwer."†

* Robertſon, ii. 368—374.

† Ibid. 374. See alſo Keith, 420, for a letter of the 16th.

But Throgmorton wrote again on the 1
TEENTH. "I have ſpoken *particularly*," he
"with the Earle MORTON," who is ſa
have ſeized the letters on the 20th of Jun
fore, "the Lord of Lidington, and Sir J
"BALFOUR captain of this caſtle," who is ſ
have given up the letters on the 20th.
does he hear any thing of the letters from t
No! They ſtill refuſe him an audience.
ſtill deny him acceſs to Mary. But they
no *new* reaſons for either. They ſtill SAY
WORD OF THE LETTERS.

Throgmorton then goes to the news o
day. Robert Melvill, the very man who
as an embaſſadour from Mary to Elizabet
the month of May before, to explain the re
of her marriage; who carried letters with
from the preſent rebels to Murray, and wh
them with Cecil for him; came "from the C
"in Lochlevin to this town the 6th [it ſhou
"the 16th]* of July, and brought a letter
"her." He mentions the contents of this l
as reported to him. He then tells of a
correſpondence, which he has found mean
Robert Melvill, no doubt, acting "in his
"tion" of *double* knavery) to commence
the Queen. This authoritatively explain
other. In *that*, it is ſaid, "ſhe will by no r

* That the date ſhould be the 16th, is plain. Thi
is one of a train, a follower to letters of the 16th an
And, in this letter of the pretended 6th, Mary deſir
Throgmorton "might have acceſs unto her;" when
not even reach Edinborough till the 12th.

"

"yield to abandon Bothell for her huſband, "nor relinquiſh him; which matter will do her "moſt harm of all, and hardeneth theſe lords to "great ſeverity againſt her." In his letter immediately preceding, Throgmorton had told us a reported falſehood concerning her, exactly of the ſame tendency. I then took particular pains to refute it. But here it is refuted by his own account of his own letter from her. In both, Mary refuſes to renounce Bothwell for her huſband. But in the latter ſhe aſſigns a reaſon ſatisfactory to the higheſt delicacy. She "grounds "herſelf upon this reaſon," ſays Throgmorton, "*taking herſelf to be ſeven weeks gone with child,* "[and that], by renouncing Bothell, *ſhe ſhould* "*acknowledge herſelf to be with child of a baſtard,* "and *to have forfeited her honour*, which SHE "WOULD NOT DO TO DIE FOR IT." This laſt ſtroke is quite in the elevated tone of Mary's former magnanimity.* It muſt be particularly pleaſing to every dignified ſpirit. But, to the low-ſouled policy of a Throgmorton, it naturally appeared to be too high-ſet. He ſaw not the evident refutation, that his own letter from Mary ſupplied of his former and of his preſent ſlanders againſt her. He felt not this ray of heaven, that now lightened from the mind of Mary. "I have perſwaded her," he adds in the diſgraceful ſtrain of a cold-blooded politician, in order "to ſave *her own life* and *her child*, to

* So on July the 5th, 1568, ſhe ſays to Elizabeth, "In "that you truſt me, I will not *(to die for it)* deceive you." Robertſon, ii. 453.

"chooſe

" chooſe the leaſt hard condition." Her own life was ſtill threatened, we ſee. It was threatened too by ſo ſpeedy a fate, as would involve her child in the ſame deſtruction with herſelf. And yet the very threateners of death to her and her embryo child, DID NOT SAY A WORD OF THE LETTERS. The murder was projected and was threatened, firſt; and the letters were *diſcovered* afterward, to juſtify the threats, and to authorize the project.

" Although the lords and councelors," Throgmorton goes on, " ſpeak *reverently*, *mildly* " and *charitably* of their Queen, ſo as I cannot " gather by their ſpeech *any* intention to *cruelty* " or *violence*; yet I do find by intelligence, that " the Queen is *in very great peril of her life*, by " reaſon that the people aſſembled at this con- " vention do mind *vehemently* the *deſtruction* of " her." The reſpect ſhewn by the leaders, proves the letters *not* to have been yet diſcovered. And the malice ſhewn by the reſt, coincides in evidence with it. *This* pretends not to any letters, as the reaſon and ground of its malice. *That* precludes every idea of the letters. And *this* Mars and Venus of Scotland, Bothwell and Mary, have not *yet* been caught in the iron net of adultery, and exhibited as a ſpectacle of deriſion, either to theſe gods of rebellion, or to the humble mortals below them.

" It is a public ſpeech," adds Throgmorton however, " amongſt all the people, and amongſt " all eſtates (ſaving of the counſellors), that their " Queen hath no more liberty nor priviledge to

" commit

"commit MURDER nor ADULTERY, than any "other private perſon, neither by God's laws, "nor by the laws of this realm." This is the firſt hint that occurs in all the papers of the times, concerning any charge of adultery, or concerning any imputation of murder, againſt Mary. Neither had been thought of before. But they both appear now. And yet, even yet, the very imputers of adultery, the very chargers with murder, SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. Theſe were not yet diſcovered. Theſe were not yet fabricated. Theſe were not yet planned. And the rebel ſtory of their diſcovery on the 20th of June before, ſtands peculiarly convicted of forgery at this moment.

But, though the letters are not in being, the charges in them againſt Mary are. The charges therefore were invented firſt. The letters were fabricated afterwards. This is very plain upon the preſent paſſages. The charges were circulated at this period, with a malicious induſtry, among the loweſt and middle ranks of life. They were peculiarly calculated by their nature, to faſten on the minds and ſpirits of theſe. Where the intellect is little exerciſed, and where the paſſions are greatly agitated, as is the caſe in all ſuch revolutions as the preſent; and where the principles of hiſtorical credibility are little known and leſs conſidered, as was peculiarly the caſe then with the middle ranks of ſociety in Scotland, and has always been, and always will be, with the loweſt in Scotland and in England; any bold and myſterious ſurmiſe of ſlander, any in-

timation of a dark and dreadful villainy, howev
abſurd in its matter, however incredible in i
manner, and however un-founded and un-authe
ticated in both, will operate with the force
a demonſtration. A WARMING-PAN will becor
pregnant. A whole nation of philoſophers an
thinkers, once believed it to have been ſo. Th
faith has even remained impreſſed upon the
deſcendants, for two or three generations ſinc
And there are few of our Preſbyterians at pre
ſent, who do not ſtill believe the truth of th
ſtory. This aſtoniſhing proof of the politic
credulity of our fathers and of ourſelves, ma
ſerve at once to illuſtrate, and to excuſe, th
bigotry of the Preſbyterians of Scotland at tha
period. An extravagance of credulity, in *poli
tical* matters peculiarly, has been, and ſtill i
the degrading characteriſtick of Preſbyterianiſ
in every part of our iſland. They thus be
lieved Mary to have been guilty of adultery
without a ſhadow of a reaſon for it. The
then believed her to have been guilty of murde
becauſe—they believed her to have been guilt
of adultery before. They reared Pelion upo
Oſſa, and Oſſa they founded on air.

All this, no doubt, proceeded at firſt from th
artful inſinuations of ſome leaders in miſchie
Theſe threw out the tales, to catch the ſill
multitude. Falling into the hot-bed of popula
folly, the ſeeds there grew up and flouriſhed ex
ceedingly. And then the rebel lords took u
their own inſinuations from the lips of the vul
gar, adopted them for ſolemn truths, and con
firme

firmed them—by the letters. This is a curious inſtance of that inverted proceſs in knavery, which has often been uſed, I fear, to impoſe upon the good people of this iſland. When there are ſo many thouſands among us, who will pretend to judge of publick tranſactions, without one atom of knowledge to direct them, and with a large fund of inflammable matter within to miſlead them; they are ſure to become a prey to the knowing, the artful, and the un-principled. Juſt ſo it was, but in a much higher degree, in Scotland then. The rebels had no ground for their calumnies at the time. They pretended to none. Had they, Throgmorton, who was ſo ready to report every calumny againſt Mary, muſt have dwelt with a peculiar emphaſis upon this. Yet they threatned her with depoſition. Yet they threatened her with death. Yet they threatened the child within her with death too. What a picture is this, of the knaves who had breathed the whiſpers of calumny againſt her, and of the fools who had inhaled them from their mouths; of the ſtupidity of theſe, in believing without reaſon, without authority; of the maſterlineſs of thoſe, in making a nothing to operate ſo forcibly for their views; and of the ſavageneſs of both, in ſo accuſing and ſo threatening a lady, who was then ſuppoſed to be regnant, and a Queen, who was and is an honour to their nation.

But, though the accuſations had not an inch ground to reſt upon at preſent, they had afterwards. They were lowered from the ſituation which they ſtood, hovering like vapours in the air,

air, and ready every moment to mix with it. They were brought down to earth, and compreſſed into palpableneſs (if I may be allowed the expreſſion), by being attached to the letters. And then, then, the rebel lords themſelves could allow, *that they had never had any foundation before.* They could then "find NO OTHER way or "moyen" to vindicate their proceedings, "or "the ſecuritie of them and their poſteritie be "ONY OTHER meane myght be providit and "eſtabliſhed," than by grounding all which they had done or ſhould do upon the letters.* So plainly, by the confeſſions of the rebels themſelves, had they not the leaſt authority for all their impudent calumnies againſt Mary, even when they were moſt violent in their clamours concerning them, before they diſcovered the letters! And ſo plainly, by the paſſages above, were the letters *not* diſcovered, *till* the calumnies had been openly circulated, *till* the clamours upon them had been exceedingly violent, *till* depoſition and death had been actually planned and menaced for them.†

But we now come to a paſſage in the letters, that is peculiarly important. DALGLEISHE is ſaid by the rebels to have been ſeized with the letters, on the 20th of June. Yet we now find, that not only *not* the letters were then ſeized,

* Goodall, ii. 63.

† Throgmorton ſays, that "Mr. Knox arrived here in "this town the 6th of this month." It is a miſtake again for the 16th. In his letter of the 14th, he ſaid before, "Knox "is not here, but in the weſt parts." Robertſon, ii. 373.

but

that even Dalgleiſhe himſelf was not; and , when he was ſeized, the letters were not d with him. This is a powerful addition to the accumulated evidences of the forgery re. And it comes in the more uſefully here, e have juſt ſeen the Queen openly ſet up by anks and orders of the rebels, except the ſellors,

A fixed figure for the time of ſcorn
To point its ſlow unmoving finger at.

The Earl of Bothwell," ſays Throgmorton, nd all his adherents and aſſociates, be put to horn by the ordinary juſtice of this town, med the lords of the ſeſſion; and command- nt given to all ſheriffs, and all other officers, apprehend him, and all other his followers d receiptors." The rebels, it ſeems, had ced or compelled the lords of ſeſſion and e retainers of the court, to reſume the diſ- ge of their reſpective functions; by their pro- ation of June the 21ſt before. Bothwell was "chargeit to underly the law" before them; "yairfoir, in default of finding of ſouertie," the rebels by a proclamation of July the "he is ordourlie denuncit oure ſoveranis re- ll, and put to ye horne."* This appears the preſent letter, to have been done ſince date of the laſt, and only the day before late of this. And let us, before we proceed, the inconſiſtencies of the rebels, in their unts of that guilt, for which Bothwell was condemned judicially in his abſence.

* Anderſon, i. 144.

In

In their proclamation on June 26th they ſaid, that "the authoris" of the murder "wer knawin "weill enough in the ſicht of men."* In their acts of council and of parliament the December following, they added, that "all men in thair "harts were fully perſwaided" at the time of the murther, "of the authors and deviſers of "that miſchevous and unworthie fact."† In their anſwer alſo before the commiſſioners of England they aſſerted, that, when the King was murdered, "James, ſumetime Erle Bothwell, "*being well knawn for chief author thairaf*, enterit "in ſo great credit and authoritie with the Quene, "that, within thre monethis efter the murther "of hir huſband," he—ſeized her; and that they took up arms to "puniſh the ſaid Erle, "chief author of the murther."‡ And yet at the very commencement of their rebellion, and on June the 12th, they ſay that they have taken up arms, "*underſtanding* yat James Erle Bothuele "*put violent handes* in our Soveraigne Ladies maiſt "nobille perſonne;" and they add, that "*attour* "[moreover] the ſaidis lordis and nobilitie *ar* "aſſuredlie INFORMIT, yat the ſame James Erle "Bothwele—was the principall author, deviſor, "and inſtrument of the—murther," and this "apears to be of veritie," becauſe—the Earl was haſtily divorced of his wife afterwards, even while he kept the Queen confined, "quhilk "*confirms* the INFORMATIOUN given to the ſaidis "lordis and nobilitie, of the ſaid Erle Bothwele."‖

* Anderſon, i. 139. † Goodall, ii. 64 and 67.
‡ Goodall, 144 and 145. ‖ Anderſon, i. 131 and 132.

Thus

ıe, who was well known to ALL to be the
›f the murder at the very time, and of whoſe
ey themſelves were ſo ſure that they actu-
k up arms to puniſh it, was ſo little known
ime to be guilty; that they really took up
› reſcue the Queen, not to puniſh him,
:y were firſt informed of his guilt *after*
d taken up arms, and that then they were
to couple the divorce and the ſeizure
: information, in order to deduce his guilt
l together.

he 16th of June they dare not rely on the
ATION, which they had received on the
They only glance at it now, though it
ir principal argument then. They dwell
›n the circumſtances, that were only cor-
ve before. In a bond of aſſociation
hey drew up, on the day of ſending the
away to priſon, and in conſequence of
g upon this execrable villainy, they ſay;
:re was "no maner of juſt tryell takin,
ıent to be takin, for the cryme" of the
nurder, "albeit, *in all this tyme*, the mur-
·is wer *weill eneuch knawin*; *for* quho
›e ignorant thairof, and not cleirly ſee
halding the proceiding of Erl Bothwell
me of the attempting that odious fact, and
ıuallie ſyncefyne? That wer ſufficient,
:ht there wer na uther pruiff."* But on
ı we find the rebels rejecting both their
›ns and their information, and founding

* Anderſon, i. 134—135.

his guilt upon a new point. "Of the quhil "murther now," they ſay, "be *juſt tryell taik* "he is found, not onlie to have bin the invent "and devyſer, but the executer with his aw "handis."* And yet on the 27th, the very d afterwards, they order William Blackater, Jam Edmonſtone, John Blackater, and Mynar Fraſe to be put to the torture "for furthering "the tryall of the *veritie*."† The trial there fore had been held before the 26th of June, an yet was ſtill to be held on the 27th. The truth had appeared on the 26th, and had diſappeare on the 27th again.

Throgmorton alſo informs us from the rebel on the 14th, that Bothwell has been "wit "manifeſt evidence notoriouſly detected to b "the principall murderer."‡ Accordingly, o the 26th of June before, the rebels declared o Bothwell, that "his awin ſervants, being i "companie with him at that unworthie deid," the murder, "hes teſtifiet" to his ſhare in it. Yet on the 27th four retainers of his were ordere to be tortured, "for furthering of the tryall o "the veritie." And the two firſt of his ſervants that were ever pretended ſpecifically and by nam to be taken, were not taken till the 17th or 18th of July; and then they "confeſſed *ſuch* ſundry "circumſtances," ſays Throgmorton in this diſpatch of the 18th, "*as it appeareth evidently*, "that he, the ſaid Earl, was one of the principal

* Anderſon, i. 140. † Keith, 407.
‡ Robertſon, ii. 371. ‖ Anderſon, i. 140.

"executors of the murder, in his own perſon, "accompanied with ſundry others, of which "number I cannot yet certainly learn the names, "but of three of them, that is to ſay, two of the "Ormiſtons of Tivot-dall, and one Hayborn "of Bolton: the lords would be glad, that none "of the murderers ſhould have any favour or "receipt in England; and hereof their deſire is, "that the officers upon the border may be warn-"ed." This then was the grand æra of diſcovery concerning the murder. The trials taken, the detections made, the informations, and the ſervants, which have been mentioned before, are all as falſe as they are contradictory. And all form a wonderful addition to the maſs of falſehood and forgery, which we have ſeen before.

But who were theſe ſervants of Bothwell, that were now taken and that now confeſſed? Let us ſee Throgmorton's account of them. "The "Earl of Bothell's PORTER, and one of his other "SERVITORS OF HIS CHAMBER, being appre-"hended, have confeſſed ſuch ſundry circum-"ſtances, as it appeareth evidently, that he, the "ſaid Earl, was one of the principal executors of "the murder," &c. Bothwell's porter was William Powrie, called "ſervitor to the Erle Both-"well" in ſome depoſitions publiſhed by the rebels,* denominated expreſsly "Powrie le por-"tier" in the ſecond confeſſion of Paris,† and called equally by the preceding depoſitions in another place, "William Powrie ſervitor and

* Anderſon, ii. 165. † Goodall, ii. 77.

" porter to the ſaid Erle."* And the only " ſer-
" vitor of his chamber," that was ever taken or
ever pretended to be taken, was, according to the
ſame depoſitions, " GEORGE DALGLISH, *ſervand*
" *in the chalmer* to the Erle Bothwell, of the aige
" of 27 zeiris or yareby."†

Thus are we come at laſt to the ſeizure of Dalgleiſhe, but SIX or SEVEN AND TWENTY DAYS after the aſſerted ſeizure of him by the rebels. Nor is this all. Melvill ſpeaks of the ſeizure of Dalgleiſhe. But, with his cuſtomary confuſedneſs, he unwittingly poſt-dates the fact, even more than the rebels have ante-dated it. He confounds it with the general taking of Bothwell's ſervants in a veſſel off Schetland, at the beginning of September following. Bothwell's ſhip, he ſays, " Grange took, and therein " the laird of Tallow, John Hepburn of Bautoun, " DALGLEESH, and divers others of the Earl's " ſervants;—who were the FIRST WHO GAVE IN-" FORMATION OF THE MANNER OF THE MUR-" THER."‡ Dalgleiſhe and Powrie, as we have ſeen above, " confeſſed ſuch ſundry circumſtances, " as it appeareth evidently, that" &c. And the rebels have accordingly publiſhed their depoſitions, as prior by months to any of the others.‖ Dalgleiſhe alſo was not ſeized alone, whatever the rebel journal ſays. He was ſeized along with Powrie. They were both ſeized, in conſequence of the ſentence againſt Bothwell and

* Anderſon, ii. 174. † Ibid. 173. ‡ P. 85.
‖ Anderſon, ii. 165, 171, 173, 177, and 183.

llowers, pronounced by the court of ſeſſion. is plain from the connection of ideas in ;rmorton's diſpatch. "The Earl of Bothwell," 's, "and all his adherents and aſſociates, ɔut to the horn by—the lords of the ſeſſion; commandment given—to apprehend him, all other his followers and receiptors: the l of Bothell's porter, and one of his other itors of his chamber, being apprehended, e" &c. Dalgleiſhe too was not ſeized, ıe was come from Bothwell to the caſtle, s he was on his return from the caſtle to 'ell. Bothwell had now been gone to the ys and to Schetland, ſeveral days before. 'as Dalgleiſhe ſeized with the letters about He could not, becauſe Bothwell was gone the country. He could not, becauſe he ;ized in company with Powrie. He and e were both ſeized together at the Earl's gs in Holyrood-houſe, no doubt, where ad been both left, the one as porter and ıer as chamberlain to the lodgings, when ell and the Queen left Edinborough haſtily ıe the 7th; where they had both remained, :he rebels entered Edinborough on the 10th 2th, when the Queen returned with the re-) Edinborough on the 15th, and when the ſent her away to priſon on the 16th; and they ſtill continued unmoleſted, to the day ir ſeizure, the 17th of July. And that r he nor Powrie had the letters with them, n from the total ſilence of Throgmorton, rning any letters being intercepted on this

occaſion, an incident, which he could not but have noticed with the "trumpet tongue" of energy, if it had happened; and is ſtill plainer, if poſſible, from his notice of the letters, as mentioned for the firſt time by the rebels, in a diſpatch which he wrote ſeveral days afterward. The whole formal and pompous tale therefore, which the rebels have given us of the ſeizure of Dalgleiſhe and the letters on the 20th of June, appears again for the twentieth time, and appears every time with an additional weight of evidence, to be an impudent effort of experiment, to try how far the credulity of their credulous party would extend.*

Throgmorton wrote again to Elizabeth on the NINETEENTH. Matters were now ripening faſt to a concluſion. "The repair to this "town doth begin to be great," he ſays, "and "men which kept no place of counſellors, and "yet of good regard, do boldly and overtly "by their ſpeech utter great rigour and extre-"mitie againſt their Sovereign, ſaying, it ſhall "not be in the power of any *within* this realm, "neither *without*, to keep her from condign "puniſhment for her notorious crimes." They thus charge the Queen with "notorious crimes." They thus threaten her with "condign pu-"niſhment" for them. They thus defy all the efforts of the royaliſts, and all the exertion of Elizabeth, to ſave her from their avengin hands. They were mad enough, to fancy th

* Robertſon, ii. 374—378.

tru

truth of all their ſurmiſes, and to intend the execution of all their menaces. Yet theſe very madmen SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. Dalgleiſhe had been ſeized only a day or two before. Powrie had been ſeized with him. Their confeſſions were now the common topick of the town. They themſelves were the firſt "who "gave information of the manner of the mur-"ther." Yet, with all this new light breaking in upon the publick, the maddeſt of the rebels SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

"I find," adds Throgmorton, "the matter "likely to be brought to one of theſe four "iſſues.—The firſt and beſt is, to reſtore their "Queen and Sovereign to her liberty and royal "eſtate," &c. "The next and ſecond degree "is, that the Queen ſhall abandon this realm, "and—reſign all government—to—her ſon," &c. "The third end and degree is, to proſecute "juſtice againſt the Queen, *to make her proceſs*, "to *condemn* her, to crown the prince, and *to* "*keep her in priſon all the days of her life* within "this realm. To this opinion there doth lean "(as far as I can underſtand) both *the moſt part* "*of the counſellors*, and *a great many others*." Only the very day before, Throgmorton has informed us, that "the lords and councelors ſpeak "reverently, mildly, and charitably of their "Queen, ſo as I cannot gather by their ſpeech "any intention to cruelty or violence."* Only five days before, he hath alſo informed us, that

* Robertſon, ii. 377, July 18.

" they do ſpeak of her with reſpect and reve-
" rence, and *do affirm*, as I do learn, that the
" conditions aforeſaid accompliſhed," the murder proſecuted and the divorce made, " they
" will both *put her to her liberty*, and *reſtore her to*
" *her eſtate.*"* Yet now, we ſee, " the moſt part
" of the counſellors," in only five days, in only one, without a ſingle diſcovery intervening, and SAYING NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS, are ſo entirely changed; that they, who were for reſtoring her to her liberty and her crown, are now for pretending to try her, to condemn her, to depoſe her, and to keep her in priſon for life. The quickneſs of the tranſition ſhews evidently the artificialneſs of the change. They had been ſecretly poiſoning the people, with their infamous calumnies againſt Mary; and they had been artfully deferring the audience of the Engliſh embaſſadour, that they might ſee the operation of their drugs; before they ventured upon the completion of their meaſures. And as ſoon as they ſaw the delirium, which they had brought on by their potions, to be ſtrong enough to bear them out in all that they intended; they changed their language without one bluſh of ſhame, and they entered upon their meaſures without one compunction of remorſe. Yet, with all this hypocriſy before and all this flagitiouſneſs behind, they SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

" The laſt and worſt degree of all is," adds

* Robertſon, ii. 371, July 14.

Throgmorton

Throgmorton, "not only to have the Queen's "proceſs made and her condemnation publick, "but alſo THE DEPRIVATION of her ESTATE and "LIFE to enſue. *A great number* do prefer this "before the other going before, becauſe they "fear they ſhall want ſure means to keep her "ALIVE in priſon," &c.* Yet even theſe fanatick ſavages, who mounted up in principles at once to all that eternal diſgrace of our country, the regicidal butchery of 1648, did not pretend to *have any letters againſt her.* They were for trying, for condemning, for beheading her. But THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. And yet the very lords could afterwards allow, could afterwards affirm, and could afterwards with a ſelfiſh ſolemnity maintain, that their conduct paſt and to come, in impriſoning and depoſing their Queen, could be vindicated by "no other "way or moyen" poſſible to be found, than by appealing to the letters.

Throgmorton wrote again to Elizabeth on the TWENTY-FIRST, and incloſed an anſwer in form, which the rebel lords had given him at laſt, to ſome of his requiſitions.† This anſwer and diſpatch were thought to have been loſt. But the latter has been found. And the former was only diſguiſed by a falſe date to it, the 11th for the 20th.‡ I ſhall begin with the anſwer, and end with the diſpatch.

The rebel lords ſtill defer his audience, on the poor pretence of the abſence of ſome amongſt

* Keith, 420—421. † Ibid. 428. ‡ Ibid. 417, and Pref. xi.

them;

them; a pretence that would never be wanting, if they chose it. On the 15th,* it seems, he had presented a "great and large remonstrance" to them upon their rebellion against the authority, and upon their imprisonment of the person, of their Queen; "putting them in mind of the duties of "subjects towards their natural princes." They therefore, for Elizabeth's and his "better satis"faction herein," do now "declare some pa"of their intents and proceedings." *Now* then if they have the letters, they will certainly mention them. And we shall have at last some intimation of this grand discovery, upon which in the December following they ground all their past, and even all their future, transactions, for their full and complete vindication.

Yet we are still doomed to disappointment. They still SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. They even say, what evidently shews they had *not* the letters yet. "First," they say, "we "pray her Highness," Elizabeth, "to conceive "of us, that we take no pleasure to deal with "our Sovereign after this sort, AS WE ARE "PRESENTLY [at present] ENFORCED TO DO, "being THE PERSON IN THE WORLD WHOM (ac"cording to our bounden duty) WE HAVE IN "OUR HEARTS MOST REVERED AND HONOURED, "whose grandeur WE HAVE MOST EARNESTLY "WISHED, and WITH THE HAZARD OF OUR "LIVES would have ENDEAVOURED OURSELVES "TO HAVE PROCURED IT." All this alledged honour and reverence for the Queen's person,

* Keith, 424.

all

all this earneſtneſs of wiſhes for her grandeur, and all this readineſs to promote her grandeur, even at the hazard of their lives; however hypocritical and falſe, are plainly extended down to the preſent moment, as proofs that they *now* take no pleaſure in what they are *now* enforced to do. But they could not talk in this ſtrain *at preſent*, if they had intercepted, if they had fabricated, or if they had planned, any letters againſt her.

They then dwell ſtrongly upon the murder of the King, and the acquittal of Bothwell: though the former was executed, in concert with Bothwell, by MORTON their leader; and though, at the latter, MORTON was not content to have laid his trains in ſecret for the deliverance of Bothwell, but ſtood openly during the trial within the ſame box with him.* They next dwell *more* ſtrongly

* See Jebb, i. 403. But Jebb, i. 464, informs us of Morton's ſtanding in the box with Bothwell, at the trial. And Camden, Tranſ. 94, and Orig. 117, tells us what is much more, that Morton undertook the management of his whole cauſe for him, "Mortonio cauſam ejus ſuſſinente." Theſe two notices unite together, to ſhew us the main ſpring that ſet the whole machine a going. The four aſſeſſors to the hereditary judge, Argyle, were plainly picked out for the purpoſe; being all four warm friends to Morton and the faction, being all four deeply engaged in the rebellion with him, and being all four commiſſioned with him afterwards to charge Bothwell and Mary with that murder, of which they acquitted Bothwell now (Keith, 375). Buchanan tells us expreſsly, "that the murdereris themſelfis maid the chuſe of "ye judges" (Detection, 31, ii. Anderſon, and 294, i. Jebb). The flaw in the indictment too, which fixed the 9th of February for the day of the murder, when it was actually committed about two on the morning of the 10th, was contrived

ſtrongly upon the ſeizure, and forced marriage of the Queen. They ſay ſhe was "led captive

trived by Morton in concurrence with John Spens, one the Queen's two advocates and proſecutors (Anderſon, ii. 9 who was probably engaged in the murder himſelf (And ſon, i. 48), and who was certainly embarked in the rebell afterwards (Keith, 452); as an additional barrier of ſe rity to Bothwell (Anderſon, ii. 98 and 114). Mor could not tell, what evidence Lenox might have obtain concerning the murder. He knew Bothwell's guilt and h own ſo well, as to be clear he might obtain the fulleſt. An as the aſſeſſors in ſuch a caſe would have been compelled t condemn, it was requiſite to have a ſecond ſubterfuge. Fo this reaſon alſo, he added a third. To *prevent* the produc tion of evidence, was better than to baffle it when it wa produced. Morton, therefore, provided a body of armed men with a flag to attend Bothwell to the place of trial (Anderſon, ii. 157, and Keith, 405). Theſe were meant only for a terrour to the timid Lenox. They could be intended for nothing elſe. They could not have reſcued Bothwell from puniſhment, if he had been condemned. A condemnation alſo was effectually precluded, by the meaſures already taken And they could not be calculated to counteract any armed men with Lenox, becauſe Lenox was coming without any (Anderſon, ii. 106—107). They were intended therefore to terrify only. They were intended, ſay the rebels themſelves, "that nane ſould compeir to perſew him." (Keith 405). This they did completely. Lenox had now reached Stirling on his way to the trial. He there heard of the prepared ſoldiery. He was alarmed. He ſtopt where he was. He wrote to the Queen, to defer the trial *on account of his ſickneſs* (Anderſon, i. 52—53). And, finding the trial was not to be deferred and would come on the next day, he ſo far recovered himſelf, as ſtill to determine not to appear, but to ſend over his ſervant with a letter to the court, and to avow the real reaſon of his abſence. "The caus of his "abſence," he ſays, "is the ſchortnes of tyme, and that he is "denyit of his freindis and ſervandis, quha ſuld have accom-

"panyi

lothwell. They ſay ſhe was "by fear, force," "compelled" to marry him. And they conently had not yet an *idea* of any letters, that ld ſhew ſhe was ſeized by her own manage-t, was married by her own concurrence, and been an adulterous whore to him before. they tell us this ſecret, even more pointedly wards. "What reſted," they ſay, for well "to finiſh the work begun, and to compliſh the whole deſire of his ambitious art, but to ſend the ſon after the father, and, might be ſuſpected, ſeeing him keep another ife in ſtore, TO MAKE THE QUEEN ALSO DRINK THE SAME CUP, to the end he might inſt himſelf with the crown of the realm?"* rebel lords *at this time*, it is plain, had admitted even *one ſolitary idea* into their ds, of any adulterous commerce betwixt the en and Bothwell. The idea indeed had been ed among the multitude, but it was not yet itted by the lords. It never was admitted hem. It firſt became general among the

yit him to his honour and *ſuretie of his lyfe*, in *reſpect of greitnes of his* [Bothwell's] *partie*, and he having aſſiſtance na freindis *bot only himſelf*" (Anderſon, ii. 106—107). with the ſame view, Morton appeared in the box with vell, to countenance and to encourage him. All theſe ires are only ſo many gradations in one ſcale of vil-. They are all parts of one ſyſtem. They were fore the acts of one directing mind. And this mind, as len informs us, was Morton's. Camden gives the gework to Morton. And Jebb, i. 464, appropriates *one* e particulars *expreſsly* to him.

* Keith, 417—418.

people,

people, and then the letters were reſolved up by the lords. And this forms a moſt compl vindication of the Queen from the charge. not only ſhews the letters *not* to have been th intercepted. It ſhews them not to have be then thought of. It ſhews the fundamen principle of them all not to have then exiſted, the belief of thoſe hypocritical and calumnic wretches.

But the rebel lords reinforce this ſtriking d claration, by a repetition of it. They even rei force it, with a pointed addition in their mann "It behoved us aſſuredly," they ſay, "to ha "recommended the ſoul of our prince, and "the moſt part of ourſelves, to God's hand "and, *as we may firmly believe*, the SOUL AL "OF OUR SOVEREIGN THE QUEEN, who SHOUL "NOT HAVE LIVED WITH HIM HALF A YEAR T "AN END, as may be conjectured by the ſho "time they lived together, and the maintainin "of his other wife at home at his houſe." Ar they thus ſhew us in the moſt convincing ma ner, that the charge of adultery againſt Ma was never thought of by themſelves, in all the wildeſt frenzies of calumny againſt her, whi *the King was living*, while *the Queen was a widow* or while *Bothwell was actually preſent with he* that it was never believed by them, even aft they had taken up arms, even after they had in duced her to abandon Bothwell, even after th had thrown the Queen into a priſon, or eve after the accuſation was firmly believed amon the populace; and that the charge of murde

whi

was founded only on the charge of adul-
nuſt of courſe have been later ſtill than
i its reception among them.
: rebel lords had now gone on to the laſt
of hypocriſy. They had been avowing
ents of moderation to their Queen. They
i thoughts of blaſting her character. They
t an idea of touching her life. They meant
ore her to her liberty and her crown. In
s they were undoubtedly hypocritical. But
ere they ſo? They were waiting to ſee the
ıce of their political *charms* upon the en-
d multitude, at the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly
: 20th. If the multitude ſhould then prove
e been deaf to the voice of theſe charmers,
e for mild meaſures to their young and
le princeſs; then the lords muſt have acted
y ſaid, followed the inclinations of the po-
:, and reſtored their Queen. But, if the
e ſhould appear to have been wrought upon
ly by the force of their magick, and to be
and clamorous for any exorbitancies of uſur-
ı; they ſhould recall all that they had ſaid,
hould wrap themſelves up in the tempeſt
hey had raiſed,

Ride in the whirlwind, and direct the ſtorm.

ıey were now come to this period. The
bers of the aſſembly were all for violence.
ɔw harde yeſterdaye," ſays Lethington to
ıgmorton on the 20th, "and ſomewhat thys
ye, how bothe yow and I weere publykelye
ed in the preachynges, thoughe we weere not
" named:

" named: wee muſt be fayne to make a verte
" of neceſſytie, and forbeare neyther to doe ou
" ſelves good, the Quene, nor our countrye:—
" to my great gryeffe I ſpeake that, the Que
" my Soveraygne maye not be abyden among
" us: and thys ys not tyme to doe hir good,
" ſhe be ordeyned to have anye." " Mr. Kno
adds Throgmorton in this very letter, " do
" contynew hys ſeveare exhortacyons, as we
" agaynſte the Quene as agaynſte Bodwel
" thretnynge the greate plage of God to thy
" wholle countrey and natyon, yf ſhe be ſpare
" from her condigne ponyſhement." Such
deluded ideot in his notions, and yet ſuch a wil
raver in his ſpeeches, was this ANTI-POPE o
Scotland! " The convencyon of all the churches,"
Throgmorton ſubjoins, —" dothe houlde; and
" thys daye (being the 21 of this monethe) they
" are aſſembled in the Tollebowthe, where the
" doe propounde ſuch matters as they intende
" treate of at thys tyme.—They be verye auc
" cyous, and yt appearethe theyre hartes
" mervelowſlye hardened agaynſt theyre So
" raygne; which God mollefye." The ſpir
Knox reſted upon them all. They ſhared ir
idiotcy. And they partook of his ravings.
rebel lords therefore, as we ſee by Lething
verbal intimations to Throgmorton, were a
reſolved to throw themſelves upon the cur
popular fury, that ran ſo ſtrongly in their
and to float on it to the fartheſt point, whi
had ever wiſhed to reach.

Throgmorton accordingly informs us

vering diſpatch to their anſwer, thus.—"Your Majeſtie," he ſays,—"mycht perceyve by my letters of the 19 of Julye, upon ſuch groundes as I made my collectyons, that th' yſſue of thys great matter heere was lyke to be determyned by one of the four degrees and endes in my ſayde letres mencyoned; albeit I dyd pryncypallye relye by conjecture upon the twoe laſte and extremeſt. But nowe I have by aſſured intellygence (notwithſtanding this ſmowthe ſpeache, uttred by theys lordes in thys wrytinge which I ſende your Majeſtie) they bee reſolved to put in executyon forthewith the coronatyon of the yonge prynce, with the Quenes conſent, yf they can obteyne the ſame; promyſynge her, that her conformyetye in thys matter ſhall aſſure unto her, that they meane not neyther to towche her in honor nor in lyffe, neyther otherwyſe to procede agaynſt her judycyallye by waye of proces; otherwyſe they are determyned to procede agaynſt her publykelye, by manyfeſtacion of ſuche evydence as they are hable to charge her with. And, for the perfectynge of thys theyre entent, they have ſent for all the lordes and gentlemen, which they thynke will conjoygne with them."* The rebels are thus "reſolved to put in execution forthwith the coronation of the young prince," and conſequently to depoſe their Queen, either with or without her own conſent; at the very time when

* Keith, Pref. xi—xii. The language of this letter is much more *antient* than that of the others, becauſe this is printed *literatim* from the original.

they are declaring, that ſhe is "the perſon "the world, whom (according to their bounde "duty) they in their hearts moſt revere and ho "nour, whoſe grandeur they moſt earneſtly wiſh, "and with the hazard of their lives would en- "deavour themſelves to procure." They are thus determined "to proceed againſt her judi- "cially by way of proceſs," and "by manifeſta- "tioun of ſuch evidence as they are able to "charge her with," for the murder of her huſband; at the very moment, when by their own conjectures the real murderer of him, even Bothwell, meant "to make the *Queen* alſo drink "of the ſame cup;" and when alſo, according to their own "firm belief," it was moſt probable the *Queen* "ſhould not have lived with him "*half a year to an end.*"

The bane and antidote are both before us.

The rebels had been long in the habit of profeſſing a regard, a reſpect, and a reverence for Mary, which was directly contrary to their real deſigns againſt her. But theſe deſigns they could not avow yet. They might never be able to avow them. They might be obliged to reſign them up for ever. They muſt wait to ſee, how high their own excited tide of faction among the populace would riſe, before they could either reſign or avow. They therefore went on, ſpeaking only the real regard, which the Queen's amiableneſs had long drawn from all of them; expreſſing only the real reſpect, which the Queen's virtues

virtues had long forced from all of them; and declaring only the real reverence, which the Queen's dignity of mind and ſpirit had long extorted from all of them. They even went on in the ſame train, when there was no longer the ſame neceſſity for it, when the tide had riſen up to their higheſt water-mark, and when they could embark themſelves and their deſigns upon it. From the active influence of habit, from the lively energies of nature, and from the ſtrong awe and controul, which the Queen's good and great qualities ſtill kept upon their ſouls; they ſtill went on, as the aſſertors of the Queen's innocence and the maintainers of the Queen's honour, when they had actually reſolved to depoſe her, and when they had actually determined, if ſhe would not conſent to her own depoſition, to charge her with the murder of her huſband, and to try her publickly for her life. And thus, when they had taken their laſt and final reſolution of profligacy, when they had mounted up to their higheſt heights of impudence and calumny, and when they were now riding the clouds in their extravagancies of imagination againſt her; in thoſe very moments, by a happy interpoſition of the idiotcy of wickedneſs among them, did they ſpeak in the ſtrongeſt terms for Mary that they had ever uſed yet, did they put them all down formally upon paper, and did they preſent them all formally upon paper to Elizabeth's embaſſadour for his miſtreſs: ſo forming one of the ampleſt vindications of Mary, and one of the moſt powerful condemnations of themſelves, that is to be met with in all the records of her and their hiſtory.

We are now got a full month, beyond the dat aſſigned by the rebels for the pretended ſeizur of the letters. But we find that theſe have nc been ſeized yet. Their own accounts at th time, evince the falſehood and forgery of thei accounts afterward. Such dupes have the worl been to the impoſitions of theſe men! But w are now coming at laſt, to ſome intimation con cerning the letters. And this will concur wit the ſilence before, to wring theſe frauduler wretches to the ground, and to pin them ther for ever.

Throgmorton wrote to Elizabeth again on th TWENTY-THIRD.* But this diſpatch is loſ He wrote, however, the ſame day to the Earl (Leiceſter. This is preſerved. In it he ſpeak thus. "This Queen," he ſays, "is like *ver* "*ſhortly* to be *deprived of her royal eſtate*, her *ſ* "*to be crowned king*, and ſhe *detained in priſ* "*within this realm*, and the ſame *to be governe* "*in the young King's name*, by a *councel* conſiſtin "of certain of the nobility and other wiſe me "of this realm.†" The plan of proceeding now ſettled by the rebels. It had long bee ſettled in their own minds. This is plain fro the intimations of it by Lethington to Throg morton, at their firſt meeting on the *eleventh* (July before; and from their ſubſequent exe cution of it in all its parts. And at the ver time, when they were talking reverently of th

* Robertſon, ii. 380. It is dated the 24th. But the ſeq ſhews, that it cannot be later than the 23d. † Ibid. 37

Queer

Queen; when they profeſſed their intention to reſtore her to her liberty, and to replace her on her throne; even then they were acting upon the religious paſſions, and urging on the honeſt credulity, of their people, in order to lead them to a formal depoſition, and a perpetual impriſonment, of her. They particularly ſtimulated that well-meaning "ſon of violence" and barbariſm, that religious SACHEM of religious MOHAWKS, Knox, to exert all the wonderful influence, which his rude but impaſſioned oratory had over the people, and to wind them up into madneſs, for the execution of their villainies. "This day," ſays Throgmorton on the 19th, "being at Mr. Knox's ſermon, who took a piece "of ſcripture forth of the Books of the Kings, "and did *inveigh vehemently againſt the Queen*, "and *perſwaded extremities towards her*," &c.* "He continues," ſays Throgmorton on the 21ſt, to "threaten the great plague of God againſt "this whole country and nation, if ſhe be ſpared "from her condign puniſhment." They thus accompliſhed their flagitious purpoſes. By means of this their principal electrician, and by their own concurrent operations in turning the wheel, the people became ſo many charged vials of lightning. And then they reſolved to diſcharge it all, under ſome prudent regulations, againſt the perſon of their Sovereign. But let it be carefully noticed, that all this while neither KNOX nor they SAID A SINGLE WORD CONCERN-

* Keith, 422.

THE LETTERS. *He* had "inveighed vehemently" againſt the Queen. *He* had "perſwaded extremities towards her." *He* had threatened all with "the great plague of God," if ſhe was not put to death for a murdereſs. Yet he pretended not to ſpeak of any letters againſt her. *They* alſo had reſolved upon her depoſition, upon the ſubſtitution of her ſon in her place, and upon the impriſonment of her perſon for life. Yet they pretended not, any more than he, to have any letters againſt her. And, after all, they could in a few months more aſſert the letters, to be the only poſſible ground of juſtification to them, for that very depoſition, that very ſubſtitution, and that very impriſonment. They roſe in rebellion againſt her on the 10th of June. They faced her in rebellion at Carbarrie-hill on the 15th. They ſent her away into priſon on the 16th. Yet they afterwards juſtified all by letters, which they *ſaid* they diſcovered on the 20th.* They actually proceeded to accuſe her of crimes, even of adultery, and even of murder, on the 18th of July. They actually reſolved on the 21ſt, to depoſe her in form, and to ſentence her in form to impriſonment for ever. Yet they afterwards juſtified all by letters, which they *pretended not* to have in their hands *at the time*, and which they *pretended not* to have before the 24th. This, if we conſider it as folly, is one of the moſt ſtriking and eminent acts of folly, that the world

* Goodall, ii. 63 and 67.

has

has ever beheld. But it ought to be conſidered in a light much more diſhonourable to the rebels. And, as knavery, it is one of the rankeſt, that has ever been attempted to be impoſed upon the ſons of men.

Throgmorton wrote again to Elizabeth on the TWENTY-FOURTH.* This diſpatch brings us to the final reſult of all their aims and wiſhes. "The Earls of Glencairn and Mar, the Lords "Sempil, Ochiltree, and the maſter of Graham, "accompanied with many gentlemen of the weſt "of this realm, to the number of two hundred "horſes, arrived in this town the 23d of this "month; ſo did the Lord Lindſay alſo, being "ſent for by theſe lords from Lochlevin. *The "ſame day* all the lords, and others of the beſt "quality, had conference together concerning "their proceedings with the Queen their Sove-"reign; and, as I can learn by aſſured intel-"ligence, this was among them reſolved," as had been reſolved by the other lords before, "That the Lord Lindſay ſhould this day, being "the 24th, accompanied with Robert Melvil," that black BAT in politicks, "repair to the "Queen, and have in charge to declare unto her, "That the lords here aſſembled conſidering her "former miſbehaviours, as well in the govern-"ment of the realm as in her own perſon (the "particularities of both which miſgovernments "they would forbear to touch, for reſpect they "had to her honour), could not permit her

* Keith, 424.

" any longer to put the realm in peril by her
" diſorders, which were ſuch and ſo many, as
" they could not think meet, that ſhe ſhould
" any more ſtand charged with the governance
" of the realm; and therefore they did require
" and adviſe her to accord quietly, and thereto
" to give her conſent, that her ſon the Prince
" might be crowned their King and Sovereign;
" and alſo, by her aſſignment, that a council
" might be appointed and eſtabliſhed to govern
" the realm in his name: And thus doing, they
" would *endeavour* themſelves to ſave both her
" life and honour, both which otherwiſe ſtood in
" great danger."

" Further it was reſolved," he adds, " that
" in caſe this Queen would not be conformable
" to their motions, then her liberty ſhould be
" reſtrained to more ſtraitneſs, and the ladies,
" gentlewomen, and gentlemen, which be about
" her, to be ſequeſtered from her. And as far
" as I can underſtand, in this caſe of the Queen's
" refuſal to theſe their demands, they mind
" to proceed both with violence and force, as
" well for the coronation of the Prince, as for
" the overthrow of the Queen.——I do perceive,
" if theſe men cannot by fair means induce the
" Queen to their purpoſe, they mean to charge
" her with theſe three crimes, that is to ſay,
" tyranny, for breach and violation of their laws
" and decrees of the realm, as well that which
" they call common laws as their ſtatute laws;
" and, namely, the breach of thoſe ſtatutes which
" were enacted in her abſence, and confirmed
" by

' by Monſ. de Randam and Monſ. d'Oſell in the ' French King her huſband's name and hers. ' Secondly, they mean to charge her with in- ' continency, as well with the Earl Bothwell as ' with others, having (as they ſay) ſufficient ' proof againſt her for this crime. Thirdly, ' they mean to charge her with the murder of ' her huſband, whereof (they ſay) they have as ' apparent proof againſt her as may be, as well ' by the teſtimony of HER OWN HAND-WRIT- ' ING, which they have recovered, as alſo by ' ſufficient witneſſes."*

I have thus thrown all the parts of this very memorable diſpatch, that relate to the charges gainſt the Queen, into one extract. They will herefore be ſeen in one view. And, as each ppears to illuſtrate the other, ſo the LETTERS ppear to give light and luſtre to all nearly. The letters are now noticed at laſt by the rebel ords of the time. The letters are now to ound a charge of adultery and of murder againſt Mary. The rebel lords therefore ſpeak in a ery different tone, from what they have hitherto ſed. They ſpeak not only of her miſ-govern- nent of the realm, but alſo of " her—miſbeha- ' viours—IN HER OWN PERSON." *Theſe*, as well as thoſe, " they would forbear to touch for ' reſpect they had to her HONOUR." Her " diſ- ' orders" in *both* had been " ſuch and ſo many, " as they could not think meet, that ſhe ſhould

* Keith, 424—427. Here, with the laſt part of the quo- ation, ends all that was written on the 24th. The reſt was written on the 25th.

" any

" any more ſtand charged with the governance " of the realm." And " both her LIFE and " HONOUR ſtood in great danger," from the reſentment of the nation againſt both. If ſhe ſubmitted to their propoſals, they meant to ſpare her honour and her life. If ſhe did not, they " minded to proceed both with VIOLENCE and " FORCE, as well for the coronation of the Prince, " as for the OVERTHROW of the Queen." They meant to charge her with adultery and murder, as well as tyranny. And we need only contraſt the intentions of the rebels at preſent, with their own accounts of them merely three days before; to ſee the difference, now the letters are actually appealed to. *Then* the Queen, who is *now* charged with adultery, was declared to have been " led captive" by Bothwell, " and by fear, " force," &c. " compelled to become bedfel- " low" to him. *Then* alſo the Queen, who is *now* charged with the murder of her huſband, would, " as might be ſuſpected," have been made by Bothwell " to drink of the ſame cup" with her huſband, and " ſhould not have lived with " him half a year to an end." And thus ſhe, who was no adultereſs at all then, is now tranſformed into an abandoned one; and ſhe, who was in great danger then of being murdered after her huſband by Bothwell, is now made a party with Bothwell in the murder of that very huſband.

We thus, after a thouſand diſappointments, find theſe fugitive letters at laſt. But we find them, long after the rebels pretend that *they* found

found them. So they pretended *poſteriourly*. But what they pretended *at the time*, was very different. They then did not pretend to have them, they then very evidently had them not, on the 20th of June, the day aſſigned afterwards for their ſeizure. They neither had nor pretended to have them, for A WHOLE WEEK, for A WHOLE FORTNIGHT, or even for A WHOLE MONTH, afterwards. They never hinted at their poſſeſſion of papers, which they muſt have proclaimed with the loudeſt voice of fame, before the 24th of July; juſt FOUR AND THIRTY days after the date of their aſſerted ſeizure of them. And the ſtory of their ſeizing them with Dalgleiſhe on June the 20th, appears finally to be one of the boldeſt fictions, that ever was obtruded on the faith of man; being invented within *fifteen months* only from the time, and being then ſanctioned ſolemnly, even, by the privy council of Scotland itſelf; the rebel lords together thus giving a defiance to all the memories, and all the papers, of the nation; deſperately ſtaking their honour, on what was almoſt ſure to be detected immediately; and yet attracting a conſiderable degree of credibility to the whole, from the very audaciouſneſs of their proceedings concerning it.

CHAP.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1.

HAVING now, with ſome portion of a Dutchman's patience, gone over the whole account which the rebels choſe to give poſteriourly, of their ſeizing the letters on the 20th of June; and having demonſtratively proved it, I hope, to be charged with abſurdities on every ſide, and even to be contradicted by all the numerous documents of the time: I ſhall proceed, as I propoſed, with the regular hiſtory of theſe important writings. I ſhall therefore begin firſt with the riſe and origin of them. I have already diſproved the rebel accounts of their riſe, and I ſhall now point out their real origin. In a work that intends to trace ſteadily the courſe of the Nile, from its beginning to its end; the fountain of the whole muſt be an object of peculiar inveſtigation. The ſource of theſe letters, like that of the Nile, has long been hid in obſcurity:

Caput inter nubila condit.

Some inquirers have come near it. But none have deciſively reached it. I have ſhewn it not to be in the *mountains of the moon*, in which the rebels had placed it. I ſhall now endeavour, like another BRUCE, to find out where it is, and to

directly to the well-ſpring of the whole.
hope to do with a ſucceſs ſo far ſuperiour
RUCE's, that all ſhall ſee, and all ſhall be
d. And I ſhall then fall down the current,
ng its bends and curves, and tracing its
ıg progreſs to its ample concluſion.

have already ſeen the rebels, whatever
tterly aſſerted, not to be in poſſeſſion of any
ry's letters on June the 20th. Nor were
ren on July the 24th, whatever they affirmed
time. This the very manner in which
ıention them ſhews. They ſpeak "of her
hand-writing, WHICH THEY HAVE RECO-
ED." This is all the account that they
s, concerning their poſſeſſion of the letters.
aſſert the fact. But they tell not the
ıſtances. They ſay not WHEN they "re-
ered" the letters. They ſay not WHERE
' recovered" them. They ſay not ON or
WHOM they "recovered" them. A ſtory
oid of all the neceſſary adjuncts of time,
and perſon, could hardly obtain credit,
ımong the pitiable inhabitants of St. Luke's
tal. But it appears the more idiotiſh
when we compare it with the account of
ſcovery on June the 20th. *This* is as par-
r as *that* is general. *This* carries the air
ſtory calculated for reception, while *that*
›its its admiſſion by its aſpect at once. And
thinking mind, at the firſt glance, muſt
ſuch a tale from ſuch men with the ſcorn
lignation. The rebels alſo *act* in ſuch a
er concerning the letters, as ſhews ſtrongly
their

their conſciouſneſs of their own falſehoods. They do not come forward with them in a bold exultation of ſpirits, natural to ſo fortunate an incident. They have no boldneſs. They have no exultation. So different are the cold mimickries of art, from the warm realities of nature! They ſay barely, that they have "recovered" ſome of her letters. They ſay merely, that they ſhall build upon them a charge of murder againſt her. And they ſay only, that they intend to do this *at ſome future and indeterminate time*, and *in caſe* ſhe does not comply with ſome requiſitions of theirs. Such is the creeping and ſneaking pace, with which villainy often attempts and betrays its own purpoſes of impoſition! In conſequence of both, the letters, thus ſaid to be in the poſſeſſion of the rebels, were never ſhewn to the Engliſh embaſſadour, were never ſhewn to their own council of lords on the 23d, and were never ſhewn to a ſingle perſon at the time. They were even not ſo much as dwelt upon, in the council. They were even not ſo much as mentioned, in the meſſage from it to Mary. They were even not ſo much as hinted at, by that Lord Lindſay, who came from the Queen to be preſent at the council, and who carried back the meſſage to the Queen from it. That they were not ſpoken of in the one, and not noticed in the other, is plain from Throgmorton's account of both before. That they were not, even remotely, hinted at to Mary by Lord Lindſay, amidſt all his bluſtering and brutiſh addreſſes to her; is equally plain from an account, which I ſhall ſoon give

from Mary herſelf. And the whole was left to be inſinuated privately, to be ſuggeſted covertly, to be ſpoken of with all the vagueneſs of ſomething merely contingent and ideal, and ſo to ſkulk with the timidity of guilt at firſt in holes and corners.

By all this, the rebels meant merely to frighten Mary into a reſignation of her crown. They meant it by all their proceedings towards her. They therefore ſuggeſted hints to "the mob of "gentlemen who *think* with eaſe," concerning her adultery with Bothwell and her murder of the King. Finding that theſe believed in the nonſenſe; the vulgar, to whom they were connected below, received it for ſound ſenſe, and the nobles, with whom they were united above, adopted it for uſeful policy. They founded upon it their publick meſſage, demanding a reſignation from her. They founded upon it their private declarations, of intending to uſe violence and force if ſhe would not reſign. They founded upon it, alſo, their ſecret inſinuations to the Engliſh embaſſadour, of their deſign to produce *ſome* letters of Mary's which they had *ſomewhere* procured, and to prove murder againſt her from them. And all were made to operate upon Mary, juſt as they wiſhed them to operate. They were all deſigned merely, to give the embaſſadour and others a colour, for pretending to be frightened on her Majeſty's account, and ſo preſſing her Majeſty to do *what the rebels wanted her to do.*

Accordingly we find, that the embaſſadour and

and others wrote to the Queen, as under the terrours of fear for her ſafety, and with earneſt urgency upon her to ſecure her ſafety by compliance. Throgmorton wrote to her, adviſing her by all means to ſign the paper of reſignation, in apprehenſion of the conſequences. Even ſome of *the rebel lords*, ſome of *the chiefs in all their counſels and actions*, ſent to her at the ſame time, pretending to be her friends, and impelling her into the ſame meaſure. Theſe were Athol, Mar, Tullibardin, Lethington, and Grange. And, what ſhews the fraud completely, they ſent their meſſage to her by the ſame retainer of rebellion, the ſame ſhuffling and ſelf-accommodating knave, who carried the letter of Throgmorton to her. "The Erle of Athol," ſays Mary herſelf by her commiſſioners afterwards, "Lardis of Tullibar-"din and Lethington, being principallis of their "counſall," and, as the loyal lords of Scotland add in their inſtructions to theſe commiſſioners, "utheris, partakeris in that cauſe;"* or as one of the commiſſioners, the biſhop of Roſs, ſpeaks in his own defence of Q. Mary's honour, "with "other principals of their factious band,"† meaning, as James Melvill ſpecifies, Mar and Grange;‡ "ſent Robert Melvile [Melvill] to her Hienes "with one ring and tokenis," which one of them had interchanged with her before under pretence of ſending her meſſages, and Lethington aſſuredly, the very man, no doubt, who had reported the reſolution of their council, the meſſage, the

* Goodall, ii. 362. † Leſley, 37. ‡ P. 85.

deſigns,

deſigns, and the letters to Throgmorton, and who had ſuggeſted equally to him the idea of his writing to Mary; "counſalling her Majeſtie to ſub-"ſcryve ſic writingis as would be preſented to "her Grace, for dimiſſioun of her crown, for to "put off that preſent deith, quhilk was preparit "for her Hienes, gif ſhe refuſit the ſame; aſſur-"ing her, quhatſumever her Majeſtie did in cap-"tivitie mycht nocht prejuge her Hienes in na "ſort: And alſo the ſaid Robert Melwile brocht "at the ſame time ane writing fra Sir Nicolace "Throgmortone, writtin with his awin hand, "deſyring her Hienes to ſubſcryve quhatever "they woulde require her unto; for the eſtate, "quhairin her Grace was then, coulde not prejuge "her, quhatever her Majeſtie ſubſcryved."*

Nor let it be thought uncandid in me, to be the firſt who has ever ſuſpected Athol, Mar, Tullibardin, Lethington, and Grange, of acting in this perfidious manner to Mary. I wiſh to be candid. But I muſt alſo be juſt. The number of rebel lords, who thus united to addreſs her in privacy, is too great for the amount of the whole. The advice was too pernicious likewiſe, to be ever given by any real friends of Mary's. It was the very advice, which her enemies would inſtigate all her treacherous friends to give her. And, what is a full evidence that theſe were only *ſuch* friends to her, they were one and all before, they were one and all afterwards, leaders and directors under the uſurpation. Lethington,

* Goodall, ii. 166. And ſee Ruddiman's Buchanan, ii. Chameleon, 15, for Lethington's intercourſe with Mary in priſon.

Grange, and Athol,* indeed, are known to have declared for Mary afterwards. But they declared not for years. Tullibardin alſo is ſaid to have deſerted the rebels, ſo early as the ſpring of 1568. But, if he did, he actually returned to them on or before February 1570.† Nor did he ever unite himſelf to the adherents of Mary in the interval. And Mar continued with the rebels to the laſt, and cloſed his life in the ſervice of the uſurpation. Yet, if this had not been the caſe, we may aſk with great propriety and energy concerning all,

Had they not ſeen PHARSALIA?

Had they not all pledged their honours to Mary, by the mouths of Grange and Morton, at the hill of Carbarrie and on the 15th of June, in the preſence and hearing of both the armies; to obey and reſpect her with as much fidelity, as had ever been ſhewn to any of her anceſtors by any of the nobility of Scotland? Yet had they not ſeen her inſtantly, almoſt before the ſound of Grange's words had gone off from her ears, almoſt before the breath of Morton's lips had mingled with the common air, griped by the vile and infamous hands of their aſſociates, compelled to mount on horſeback, and hurried away under a guard of ſoldiers to a priſon? Did not even Athol, did not even Mar, as well as all the others, ac-

* Crawford, 158.

† Keith, 469, Buchanan Hiſt. xix. 368, and Crawford, 150.

tually

y ſign the execrable order for this?* Did even Mar, did not even Athol, formally ſolemnly accept, at the coronation of the :e, that very reſignation as free and valid, h they had aſſured her could not be valid be- : it was not free?† And did they not all con- : to act with one another, and with the other ıers of their fanatical fellowſhip, under the e? They did, they did. Such perſons, fore, could be actuated by no principles of dſhip for Mary, in the advice which they her. They could be impelled only by the ſpirit, which continued to impel them after- s. They were ſerving that cauſe of uſurpation, hich they had been ſo obſtinately attached. y were ſerving it with no greater perfidiouſ- to Mary then, than what they had ſhewn to lready. And they all ſhewed the groſſneſs of perfidy to every eye, in adviſing her to ſign demanded reſignation, becauſe ſhe was in n; and becauſe this, and the ſuperadded ıts of violence, would render all that ſhe did r both unavailable againſt her: when on ſcaping from the priſon, and revoking the nation, not one of them all joined her; and ı Mar, Lethington, and Grange, actually ap- ed in arms againſt her.‡

or can Throgmorton be acquitted any more

Anderſon, ii. 225, mentions Morton, Athol, Mar, Glen- Ruthven, Hume, Lindſay, Semple, and "diverſe ıris" barons and gentlemen. And Crawford's Memoirs hat "*all* the aſſociators ſigned" it, p. 40.

† Keith, 408. ‡ Ibid. 478 and 480.

than they, from endeavouring to give a form of law to their uſurpation, by impoſing upon the honeſt credulity of Mary. It is indeed an act of baſeneſs ſo flagrant, to abuſe the confidence of unſuſpecting generoſity, to abuſe it under the pretence of friendſhip, and to abuſe it to theſe vaſt purpoſes of villainy; as aſks no common portion of meanneſs, to be guilty of it. But we have ſeen Throgmorton already to be too well tutored in the ſchool of the world, not to be capable of it. He came into Scotland, ready to ſide with the rebels, becauſe they were in power, and ready to take part againſt the Queen, becauſe ſhe was ſlandered. He continued afterwards, receiving implicitly the calumnies that they reported of Mary, even when theſe calumnies carried their own refutation with them, even when they were overthrown directly by Mary's own letter to him. And, what confirms all, though he wrote ſuch a letter of advice to Mary, he never dared to mention it to Elizabeth. He muſt have written it late on the 23d, the day on which the council was held, or early on the 24th, the day on which his letter reached Mary. But we have one whole letter written by him on the 23d, and a very large part of another on the 24th. Yet he does not give the leaſt hint of his having ſo written to the Queen, in either or in any other. He knew Elizabeth to be more attached to Mary yet than to the rebels, becauſe ſhe was not fully convinced yet, that Mary could not ſerve her purpoſes as well as they. He ſhews his knowledge of this point ſo late as the very 23d, when in his letter

letter to the Earl of Leiceſter he ſpeaks thus. "It is eaſy to be ſeen," he ſays, "that the power "and ability to do any thing to the commodity "of the Queen's Majeſty and the realm of Scot-"land, will chiefly, and in manner wholly, reſt "in the hands of theſe lords, and others their "aſſociates, aſſembled at Edinbrough: now if "the Queen's Majeſty *will ſtill perſiſt* in her "former opinion towards the Queen of Scotland "(unto whom ſhe ſhall be able to do no good), "then I do plainly ſee, that theſe lords and all "their accomplices will become as good French, "as the French King can wiſh, to all intents and "purpoſes."* A genuine ſtateſman has but one ſet of ideas. Publick expediency ſwallows up all other conſiderations. In this kind of civil madneſs was Throgmorton, we ſee, to the very day of writing to Mary. Yet he ſaw Elizabeth, whoſe ideas were as few and as diſcoloured as his own, not ſufficiently aſſured hitherto of Mary's inability to miniſter to her ſchemes, and ſo leaning to Mary ſtill. And he therefore preſumed not to tell Elizabeth, what he had done in concert with the rebels by adviſing Mary.†

He

* Robertſon, ii. 378.

† Mary plainly ſaw into this trick of Throgmorton's afterwards; as appears from a letter of hers to Elizabeth in 1582, Camden's Orig. 333, and Tranſ. 276. But Throgmorton had even played the ſame trick of diſhoneſty upon Mary before, though not with the ſame ſucceſs. When Murray and his rebels in 1565 were driven into England, Throgmorton wrote to Mary to prevent their attainders. He wrote evidently in concert with Murray, to ſave him

He wrote to adviſe her. She wrote back to tell him ſhe would follow his advice, and to beg he would acquaint Elizabeth with the whole. "Her Grace ſent anſwer in writ," ſay her commiſſioners, "that her Hienes would uſe his "counſall, and prayit him to declair unto his "derreſt ſiſter, the Quenis Majeſtie of England "his maſtres, how hir Hienes was handilit be "hir ſubjectis, and quhat eſtaite her Grace wa "in for the tyme; and to declair alſo, that the "ſubſcryving of that dimiſſioun was againſt he "will; and *doubtis nocht*, bot the ſaid Sir Nicolace "ſchewit the ſamyn unto the Quenis Majeſtie "of this realme, *her Hienes being myndit at that* "*tyme, to haif ſend an armie in Scotland for the* "*delyvering of her Majeſtie furth of preſoun*, wat "not [were it not that] *her Majeſtie was ſuirlie* "*advertiſit, in caſe her Hienes had ſo done, the blude* "*of our maſtres had payt the ſould* [wages] *of her* "*Hienes ſouldiouris.*"* We here ſee a couple of bold falſehoods, that had been impoſed by Throgmorton upon Mary, before he adviſed her to the ruinous meaſure of a reſignation. He had perſuaded her of Elizabeth's intention, to ſend an army into Scotland for her releaſe; which we

and his from utter ruin. Yet he wrote ſo artfully, that Keith has produced his letter as a proof of his "generoſity." See it in Melvill, 60—63, and Keith, 322—324. And with a weakneſs of credulity, that is the natural reſult of probity in the world, he has hitherto been thought by all, to have acted in both theſe deeds of baſeneſs with ſincerity and fairneſs.

* Goodall, ii. 166—167.

know from a full view of his and Elizabeth's diſpatches, to be abſolutely falſe. He had afterwards perſuaded her, as it was never intended to be done, that it could not be becauſe of the danger to her life from it; the rebels, he ſaid, having threatened to put Mary to death as ſoon as the army entered Scotland; a threat, that we equally know from the ſame correſpondence, to have been never uttered to Throgmorton at the time, and never reported at the time to Elizabeth.* Theſe falſe topicks of application to Mary he ſuppreſſes in his diſpatches, equally with his falſe advice to her. He acted in all, no doubt, under the influence of the rebels, and particularly of Lethington. And his ſilence concerning all, ſhews that he was equally falſe in all.†

It

* Such a threat, but not *this*, was *afterwards* made, Cabala, 1ſt part, 130, and Keith, 463.

† Let me here add another inſtance of Throgmorton's *prevarications* in this embaſſy. On July 21ſt, he wrote to know Elizabeth's pleaſure, if he ſhould be aſked to attend at the propoſed coronation of the young Prince (Keith, Pref. xii). This letter ſhe anſwered on the 27th. "We think," ſhe ſays, "that knowing our mind in all this action as you "do, that you will not by any ſuch act affirm their doings;" and ſhe expreſsly forbids him "to aſſent thereto by any "means" (Keith, 430). Yet after he had written for inſtructions, and before he received them, on the 29th he "affirmed their doings," not indeed by his own preſence, but by the preſence of one of his train, *his own couſin*, and *the principal perſon under him*. In his previous embaſſy, the 21ſt of May, 1565, he ſays, "I arrived in the morn-"ing at Stirling, and deſcended from my horſe at the caſtle-

It ſeems very extraordinary, that they who had the courage to arreſt the perſon of their Queen, to force her to Lochlevin, and to ſhut her up in a priſon there; that they, who had the boldneſs to ſeize all the jewels, all the patrimony and all the power of the crown; and that they who had thus taken complete poſſeſſion of all the wealth and authority of Mary; ſhould yet condeſcend to the humility of aſking her in any manner to reſign a crown, of which ſhe had been deprived by them. It proves ſtrongly the predominancy of right over violence, and of royalty over uſurpation, on the minds of the moſt violent uſurpers. But it is perhaps more extraordinary, that the very few perſons, who conſtituted the council of the rebels at this period, ſhould have had the preſumption to do all this. Throgmorton has given us an account of them, which is curious. They admitted him to an audience at laſt. But it was not till the 24th; till they had actually ſent off Lord Lindſay in the morning, to inſiſt upon a reſignation from the Queen. This however gave him an oppor-

"gate, *having ſent before my couſin Middlemore, your Majeſtie's* "*ſervant, to demand my audience*" (Keith, 276). And in his preſent, ſays the rebel journal, "July 24, the Quene maid "reſignation of hir crowne in favour of hir ſone——; at "this tyme Sir Nycholas Throgmorton was in Scotland: "29. the King was crownit at Striviling; MIDDILMOIR "WAS PRESENT" (Appendix, No. x). He had written to hear, if he ſhould be preſent himſelf. He knew her mind to be averſe to it. Yet he ſent his repreſentative to attend for him, in order, as much as he dared, "to affirm their "doings."

tunity,

tunity, of ſeeing all the members of the council the day before, except Lindſay, collected together again. There were preſent, he ſays, "theſe lords whoſe names I ſend your Majeſty "in a ſchedule." The ſchedule runs thus: "Barons of the parliament, the Earl of Athol, "Earl of Morton, Earl of Glencairn, Earl of "Marre, Maſter of Montroſe, called Lord "Grahame, heir to the Earl of Montroſe; Lord "Hume, Lord Ruthven, Lord Creighton of "Sanquhair, Lord Sempill, Lord Enermeith, "Lord Ochiltree, L. Craigmillar, Proveſt of "Edinburgh; the Commendator of Driburgh, "the Commendator of Cambuſkenneth, Mr. "James Macgill." Theſe, ſays Throgmorton, "were ſet about a long table;" and with them appears to have been Lethington alſo. There were alſo, he adds, "round about them a great "number of barons and gentlemen (whoſe names "I do omit to make mention of) to the number "forty, beſtowed upon ſeats."* They were therefore FOUR earls, ONE heir to an earl, SEVEN barons with Lindſay, the Provoſt of Edinborough, TWO commendators or ſecular abbots, the ſecretary of ſtate, the clerk of the council, and FORTY of the petty barons and gentry, men not barons of parliament, men inferior even to the Provoſt of Edinborough, and therefore placed on ſeats behind. Accordingly Mary ſays of the coronation of her ſon afterwards, when the ſame men nearly, we may be ſure, attended upon the

* Keith, 426 and 427, and Pref. xi.

"the Lord Lindſay departed this morning from "this town to Lochlevin, *accompanied with Ro-* "*bert Melvil.*"* But though they were to go together, and though they actually ſet out together, yet the plan of fraud which was to be executed by Melvill, and the ſyſtem of violence which was to be purſued by Lindſay, required that they ſhould part before they reached Lochlevin, and each make a ſeparate entry upon the ſtage. The fraud was to be tried firſt. The violence was kept for the reſerve. Melvill therefore, who carried the diſpatches from Throgmorton and the pretended friends of Mary; who was apparently ſent by the council that he might carry them, as he has no *publick* concern in the whole buſineſs; and who appears to have had ſuch a pliancy of knavery with ſuch a ſpeciouſneſs of honeſty about him, as made him a very proper tool for this act of perfidious villainy; paſſed the lake, and came to Mary. And in the mean time Lindſay, who carried the verbal demand of the council to her, and the inſtruments of reſignation for her ſignature, waited at a houſe upon the oppoſite bank of the lake.† Melvill produced the ring and other tokens which he had received, and delivered his meſſage. He then produced Throgmorton's letter. But this he had politically hid in the ſheath of his ſword, ‡ under the pretence of concealing it from thoſe, who were ſure *not* to ſearch a man

* Keith, 424 and 425.

† Melvill, 85, and Leſley's Defence, 37.

‡ Leſley's Negotiations, 19—20, Anderſon, 111.

that

came commiſſioned from the council itſelf.
y circumſtance is thus awry, in the tranſac-
The fear pretended, the parting made,
ſending Melvill with Lindſay, the meſſage
h he bore from ſome of the rebels, and the
tch which he carried from Throgmorton,
ll only ſo many ſteps in one regular courſe of
ſture. Yet all was ineffectual. The
g mind of Mary was not to be warped by
ſolicitations, however diſguiſed, and how-
urgent. And ſhe peremptorily refuſed to
c of ſigning the papers.*.
hen Lord Lindſay came forward. To give
greater formidableneſs to his preſence, his
ing was announced beforehand. He was at
new houſe on the other ſide, juſt ready to
boat and croſs over. And he was threaten-
much what he would do.† So well were
two parts of the drama kept up! This man
id to have been paſſionate, even to madneſs.‡
he appears not, in the intervals of his lu-
, to have poſſeſſed one ſpark of that good-
ure, which uſually diſtinguiſhes the paſſionate.
was as ſtern as he was wrathful, and as ſteady
e was quick in his fury. Such a man might
l give an alarm, to the apprehenſions of a lady
a Queen. She began to ſhrink in her reſo-
ons, at the intelligence of his approach.§
e applications before, however expreſſive of

Melvill, 85. † Ibid.
Jebb, ii. 221. See alſo Crawford, 302, for his "fu-
ous" and "violent humour," and alſo 274.
Melvill, 85.

the

the violences intended by her enemies, yet being made by pretended friends to her, had not rouzed her fears ſo ſtrongly, as to overpower her judgment. She ſaw clearly what ſhe ought to do. And ſhe determined firmly to do ſo. But now the very violence itſelf approached. Lindſay entered. He carried in his hand "three inſtruments to be ſigned by the Queen; the one "containing her conſent to have her ſon crowned, and to relinquiſh the government of the "realm; the other a commiſſion of regency of "the realm, to be granted to the Earl of MURRAY, during the King's minority; the third a "like commiſſion, to be granted to certain of the "nobility and others, for the governance of the "realm during the King's minority, in caſe the "Earl of Murray will not accept the regency "alone."* He demanded her immediate ſubſcription to them. He was authorized privately by the council, "to denounce puniſhment and "death unto her for the murder of her lawful "huſband King Henry," if ſhe refuſed to ſubſcribe.† A man ſo inſolent and ſo imperious as he was by habit, would be ſure to behave with a double portion of imperiouſneſs and of inſolence to a fallen Queen. She had pardoned that very lord, for his ſhare in the murder of Rizzio and the impriſonment of her perſon before.‡ But all generoſity was loſt upon his ſullen ſpirit. He was probably the more inſolent, becauſe ſhe had had the power, and the more

* Keith, 425. † Ibid. 425. ‡ Leſley's Defence, 58.

imperious,

imperious, becauſe ſhe had had the generoſity, to forgive. "He mineſſit her Grace," ſay Mary's commiſſioners upon her own authority, "that, gif ſhe wald nocht ſubſcryve, he had "command to put her preſentlie IN THE TOWRE," the uſual dungeon, no doubt, for common offenders, "and WALD DO THE SAME; and coun-"ſalit hir fulfill thair deſyre, or ellis WAR," worſe than being thruſt into the dungeon, even death, "would SCHORTLIE FOLLOW" her being there.* Lindſay, ſays the biſhop of Roſs, "MOST GREVOUSLY, with FEAREFUL WORDES, "and VERY CRUEL AND STERNE COUNTENANCE, "thretned her, that, unleſſe ſhe would therto "ſubſcribe, SHE SHOULD LOSE HER LIFE."† And then "hir Hienes ſubſcryvit WITH MONY "TEARIS, never luiking what was contenit in "the writings," and "declaring plainly thair-"eftir," as ſoon as ſhe had ſubſcribed, "gif "ever hir Grace come to liberti, [ſhe] wolde "never abyde thairat, becaus it was againſt her "Majeſtie's will."‡

With this "abhorred mixture of cunning and "ferocity,"§ did the rebels aſſail their impriſoned

* Goodall, ii. 167. † Leſley's Defence, 37—38.

‡ Goodall, ii. 167. "They threatened her with no leſs "than death, if ſhe complied not;" and at laſt "ſhe ſigned "whatever papers they preſented to her, without ſo much "as reading one of them; and indeed *her tears would hardly* "*have permitted her that benefit, if ſhe had deſired it.*" Crawford, 45.

§ "The villain ſpider lives, cunning and fierce,
"Mixture abhorred!" *Thompſon.*

Queen.

Queen. The cunning was baffled, but the ferocity prevailed. Lord Lindſay inſtantly poſted back to his aſſociates at Edinborough. Only five of them, however, were now in town. Theſe met inſtantly. They were Morton, ATHOL, Hume, Sanquhar, and Ruthven. They met on July the 25th, the very day after the reſignation was ſo ſigned. They "glaidlie aggreit "thairto, allowit, and apprevit the ſamyn."* An order was made for the prince to be crowned on the 29th. The rebels crowned him accordingly. They gave MURRAY the regency on the 22d of Auguſt.† And they thus threw a thin veil of law at laſt, over the ſcandalouſneſs of their uſurpation. But it was a veil of black cyprus only. It was too tranſparent to hide any thing. All their ſcandalouſneſs was ſeen through it. And their uſurpation was ſhewn and ſet off at once, by the blackneſs of it.

Though the rebels had now gained the grand object at which they aimed, yet the manner, in which it was gained, continually embarraſſed their conduct afterwards. The ceſſion pretended to be a voluntary one. Yet it was an outrageous deed of violence. What ground then ſhall they take, in their publick memorials concerning it? Shall they aſſert the voluntarineſs of the reſignation? Or ſhall they boldly fix their poſſeſſion of power upon the footing of force? To do *that*, would be an enormity of impudence indeed. But to do *this*, would be to render the reſignation

* Keith, 434. † Appendix, No. x.

itſelf

tſelf uſeleſs. They therefore do not know, which ine of conduct to take. They take neither deiſively. They walk ſometimes upon one ſtilt, nd ſometimes upon the other. This is a very riking fact in the proceedings of the rebels. nd it is another inſtance of the ſhifting and odging, ſo natural to conſcious villainy. In a arliament which they held the December follow-ng, they had Mary's "FRE ASSENT AFFIRMIT," ay the nobles of Mary's party, "be *ſindrie* there ' preſent, with MONY SOLEMNIT AITHIS be ſum ' lordis," Lord Lindſay one of them, no doubt, ' and INSTRUMENTIS OF NOTARIS DECLARING ' THE SAMIN."* Such was the bold and perurous impudence of the rebel lords. Yet with he natural inconſiſtency of guilt, to the contraiction of their own notarial inſtruments, and o the confuſion of their own perjurous witneſſes, n the very ſame parliament they paſſed a law, vhich ſays all done to the Quene "unto the day ' and dait of this preſent act, and in all tymes to ' cuim, tuiching the ſaid Quene and deten-' ing of her perſon,—WES IN THE SAID QUENIS ' AWIN DEFAULT, in ſa far as—ſcho was previe, ' airt and pairt, of the actual deviſe and deid ' of the—murthour of the King."†

Thus was Mary, in one and the ſame parliament, expreſsly averred by many ſolemn oaths of lords, and by the formal atteſtations of publick notaries, to have freely ceded her crown to her ſon; and yet aſſerted by a law, to have had it rightfully taken from her, becauſe ſhe was ac-

* Goodall, ii. 363. † Ibid. 67.

ceſſary to the murder of her huſband. But the former was affirmed only by notaries and lords. The latter was recorded in form upon the ſtatutes of the kingdom. So much better did the rebels like their poſſeſſion by force, than their right by conſent! Yet in the anſwer, which they afterwards put in at York to Mary's accuſation of them, they amazingly blended both together. Bothwell, they ſaid, murdered the King, ſeized the Queen, and married her. They took up arms to reſcue her perſon, and diſſolve her marriage. They did the one. She would not let them do the other. They could have no anſwer from her, "bot rigorus minaſſing, on the ane "part avowand to be revengit on all thame "that had ſchawin thameſelfis in that cauſe," that is, to be revenged on thoſe who had *reſcued* her; "and on the uther part offerand to leif, "and gif over, the realme and all, ſua ſcho micht "be ſufferit to poſſes the murtherer of hir huſ- "band," the very man who had *ſeized* her perſon, who had *forced* her into a marriage, and was likely to have *murdered* her in a ſhort time, according to the accounts of the rebels themſelves before; "quhilk hir inflexible mynd—compellit "thame to ſequeſtrate hir perſoun for a ſeaſon," as impriſonment is the beſt cure for love; "dur- "ing the quhilk tyme, ſco finding hirſelf, be "lang, irkſum, and tedious travail takin be hir "in the governament of the realme,—ſa vexit "and weryit, that hir body, ſprite, and ſenſes "wer altogidder unable langer to occupy that "realme," though ſhe was juſt now *menacing* them

 rigorouſly,

rigorouſly,—" thairfoir dimittit and renuncit the " office—in favouris of hir—ſone."* Of theſe impudent falſehoods we may ſay, as Prince Henry does of Falſtaff's, but with ſome little variation of words, and with a much higher reach of meaning, " theſe lies are like THE FATHER THAT BE- " GOT THEM, groſs as a mountain, open, pal- " pable." They are ſuch a jumble of force and freedom, ſuch an union of contradictory aſſertions, as perhaps was never exhibited to the world by any ſet of uſurpers before.

Yet all is equalled in the accuſation againſt Mary, preſented by theſe very men at Weſtminſter afterwards. Charging her with the murder of her huſband, they ſay " the eſtatis of the " realme of Scotland, FINDING HIR UNWORTHIE " TO REGNE, decernit hir DIMISSION of the " crown—TO BE LAUCHFULLIE—DONE."† It ſeems to be the peculiar curſe of uſurpations, to think with a wild confuſion of ideas, and to ſpeak with a wild contradictorineſs of language, concerning their own tranſactions. The fact is, that the wickedeſt men can hardly ever riſe to ſuch an altitude of wickedneſs at once, as to become perfectly clear and conſiſtent in their pretences for it. And even after all, after they had ſolemnly aſſured Elizabeth's commiſſioners under their own hand, that their parliament had pronounced Mary " unworthy to reign," and had " decreed her diſmiſſion of the crown to be law-

* Goodall, ii. 145—146. † Ibid. 207.

" fully done;" they actually put Elizabeth upon treating with Mary *as ſtill in poſſeſſion of the crown*, and *on inducing her to reſign it again* in the very terms of her former reſignation.

This deſire of a ſecond reſignation, was the natural conſequence of their confuſion and contradictorineſs under the firſt. It was merely recurrence to that original plan, which had failed. It was ſtill to frighten. But it was to frighten by intimated approaches of danger, and not by the immediate preſence of it. It was therefore to give a ſemblance of voluntarineſs to the reſignation, though there was no reality in it. *And* it would be of great conſequence to them, to ſubſtitute ſuch a reſignation in the place of the preſent, which had neither reality nor ſemblance in it. It was with this view only, that the letters were firſt thought of. The idea of them was thrown out at firſt, entirely with this view. And, with this view only, was the idea reduced into writing afterwards. This is plain from the tenour and ſpirit of Elizabeth's conduct, concerning them. She made Murray produce them before her commiſſioners, on the 8th of December 1568. *She* urged him to the act, to gratify her own mean mind by the ſlanders thrown in them upon Mary. But *he* conſented to it, in order to puſh his plan into execution, by terrifying Mary into a ſecond, and ſeemingly unforced, reſignation. Then Elizabeth, gratified in her own purpoſes, was earneſt to indulge him in his. Her ſecretary therefore, ſo early as the 22d of December afterwards, went to work for him. Cecil drew up a detail upon

in paper, of what was proper to be done at preſent emergency. The *firſt* point that urred to his mind, was——the reſignation of ry. "What is meeteſt," he aſks. And he wers himſelf thus: "Firſt, that the Queen of cots be *induced* to yield herſelf to remain in ne realme" of England, "and not depart; nd that *the eſtate of her ſon and the regent may emain and continue.*"* That very day, Eliza- h wrote herſelf to Sir Francis Knollys, one of ry's keepers, to inſtruct him, "that in con- luſion it is thought, of all uther deviſees, *this* o be the beſt for us." So thoroughly did ſhe ſider Murray's cauſe to be her own! She then poſes the ſcheme, as Cecil had delineated it. And the cauſe of this hir yelding and aſſent," adds, is "to be grounded and notifyed to rocede of hir owne good-wil, by reſon of hir veryneſs of governance, and of deſyre to ſee ir ſonne ſtabliſhed, in ſuch termes, *to ſave ir honor*, as is at more length conteaned in THE INSTRUMENT DEVISED FOR THE DIMISSION OF HIR CROWN, WHYLEST SHE WAS IN LOUGH-EVIN."† So completely did the parts of zabeth's ſyſtem, now unite into one with urray's! But Mary was not to be warped in judgment, or affected in her ſpirit, by theſe plications of Elizabeth's to her; any more n ſhe had been, by the ſolicitations of Throg- rton, and five of her rebel chiefs, before, ey were both fraudulent and perfidious. Mary

* Goodall, ii. 274. † Ibid. ii. 278—279.

was not to be wrought upon by either. And ſhe returned that high-toned anſwer to the laſt which we have recorded before to her honour.

Yet the overture was of too great conſequence to Murray, to be given up even for ſuch a majeſtick rejection of it as that. Cecil therefore took up his projecting pen again, on the 7th of January. He formed another ſcheme upon paper. But it was ſtill the ſame. His mind, at this period, entirely moved upon the pivot of reſignation. And his preſent project is conceived, half of it in the ſame manner as his former, and half in a new way. The plan is thus deſcribed by himſelf: "That ſhe may require licence to remain "in this realm, free from the troubles of go- "vernment of her realm, and that her ſon may "remain King,—and the government to be in the "Earl of Murray;" or elſe, "That if the Queen "will remain Queen both in name and poſſeſſion, "—yet—ſhe may have her ſon alſo remain "King, and be joined with her in all reſpects, "and that the government may remain, untill "the King ſhall come to 18 years, in the Earl "of Murray."* Elizabeth was ready to concur in any meaſures of accommodation, that would be as effectual as a voluntary reſignation in itſelf, by fixing the ſceptre in the hands of Murray. And ſhe ſolemnly propoſed the former half of the overture to Mary's commiſſioners, that very day. "It ſemit," ſhe ſaid, "maiſt meit and "convenient, that ſcho," Mary, "as being "wearie of the realme and government thairof,

* Goodall, ii. 295.

'ſould zeild [yield] up the crown and govern-
'ment thairof, and demit the ſamin in favouris
'of hir ſone the prince."* But the inſtant
eply of the commiſſioners to this propoſal, their
eremptory rejection of it in the name of their
niſtreſs, their unanimous and abſolute refuſal
ven to tranſmit it to her, and their determinate
erſeverance in all, for ever put an end to the
roject, and even prevented the offer of the al-
ernative deſigned.

The hope of a ſecond and ſeemingly voluntary
eſignation, then, appears to have been the ac-
uating motive to Murray, and through him to
lizabeth at laſt; in forming the charge of mur-
ler againſt Mary, in forging letters that ſhould
retend to prove it, and in producing them as he
id produce them. Elizabeth had no other view
t laſt. And he had ſcarcely any other, from
he beginning to the end of his proceedings;
rom his firſt production of them before the
ouncil and parliament of Scotland in Decem-
er, 1567, to his laſt before the Engliſh com-
niſſioners at Weſtminſter in December, 1568.

Buchanan has hitherto had the ſuper-eminent
nfamy among the friends of Mary, of having
orged the letters from her to Bothwell. It was
ot given to him very early.† Yet it has been
ontinued to him very ſteadily But I am com-
elled by the force of evidence, to clear Bucha-
an of this villainy, and to lay it upon another.

* Goodall, ii. 300.

† The forgery was originally attributed to Mary Bethune
r Beaton, one of Mary's maids of honour. Jebb, i. 524,
d ii. 243.

The firſt time, that the idea of a ſet of forg[illegible] letters was ſuggeſted to the rebels, was on t[illegible] 24th of July, 1567. It was pretty certainly ſpark, ſtruck off from the mind of LETHINGTO N, by the friendly colliſion of the ideas of adultery and murder, then floating among the mob of clergy and gentry in Edinborough, and his own habits of forging the hand-writing of Mary. Theſe habits are ſufficiently atteſted by *his own confeſſion*; as he acknowledged in ſecret to the commiſſioners at York, that he had frequently forged her writing.* His active hand, therefore, caught the ſpark as it flew, threw in the combuſtibles, which his active genius could always furniſh, and fanned both immediately into a little flame. He is expreſsly ſaid by the rebels themſelves, to have been "eſteemed" by them, as "one of the beſt ingines or ſpirits of his "country."† He is particularly reported, to have had "a crafty head and fell [or ſharp] "tongue."‡ Elizabeth alſo is declared by her own embaſſadour, to have known him well "for "his wiſdom to conceive, and his wit to convey "whatſoever his mind is bent unto to bring "to paſs."§ And he is deſcribed by anoth cotemporary, to have been "naturally enclir "to plotting and intriguing, and fond of "countering difficulties, as tools that ſerve "ſharpen his wit, of which he had a very g

* Camden, Tranſlation, 116, Original 143—144.
† In Paris's firſt Confeſſion, Goodall, i. 140.
‡ Keith, 205. § Ibid. 262.

"ſt

ſtock."* He inſtantly conceived the plan of a ſeries of letters, fabricated in a writing ſimilar to Mary's, and proving all that the mob aſſerted; in order to terrify Mary into the wanted reſignation. He inſtantly connected it with its proper accompaniments. His mind had always a quickneſs of invention, and a vigour of formation, about it. And his tongue, which was as lively as his fancy, inſtantly reported the whole, for a ſyſtem already in exiſtence, to Throgmorton; to whoſe lodgings he frequently repaired, and in whoſe ear he frequently pretended to whiſper the ſecret deſigns of the party. He was, no doubt, the principal channel of intelligence to Throgmorton on all occaſions. He was the only channel upon this. Had the project of the letters been known to any, except the relater and the reporter; it muſt ſoon have crept out among the buſy partizans in the city, and appeared in ſome of Throgmorton's intelligences concerning them. Such a pretended diſcovery, if it had once gone out beyond the two, would not long have crept. It would ſoon have raiſed itſelf upon its feet. It would ſoon have ſtalked forth in gigantick formidableneſs, among the amazed crowds. And it was privately intimated to Throgmorton only, that he might act in conjunction with Lethington, and his four aſſociates in treachery; that he might write like them to Mary, upon the dangers that were preſſing upon her from every ſide; and that ſo he might unite

* Crawford, 107.

to

to drive the poor doe, which they could not *hunt* down, into the *toils* prepared for her.

In this manner, I believe, was the firſt intimation of the letters thrown out to Throgmorton. It was purely calculated, as the very timing of it ſhews, to promote the grand purpoſe of a reſignation. This was obtained. And *the idea was heard of no more for months.* The rebels had obtained their reſignation, however, not by the force of their reported letters, not by any indicated dangers, but by applications of a more impreſſive nature, by denunciations of immediate death. Yet this was not known to the world. They aſſerted the contrary. And nobody could diſprove it. In this ſtate they continued, perfectly ſatisfied with the reſignation, and totally unmindful of any letters of Mary's for ſome months. They then ſaw it requiſite to ſummon a parliament, in order to procure a ſeeming ſanction to all their meaſures, and a ſeeming ſecurity to all their perſons. This was certainly a very bold ſtep. But they prepared very cautiouſly for it. They provided themſelves with a double ſuit of armour for the encounter. They felt ſeverely the embarraſſment, which the compulſory nature of the reſignation threw in their road. They muſt clear it away, or they muſt fall over it. They accordingly made uſe of expedients, that ſhew at once the deſperateneſs of their reſolution, and the flagitiouſneſs of their hearts. They prepared ſome peers WHO WERE NOT PRESENT, ready to SWEAR ſolemnly to the voluntarineſs of the reſignation. They prepared equally

equally ſome notaries publick, WHO WERE EQUALLY NOT PRESENT, ready to ſubſcribe formal inſtruments of atteſtation to this voluntarineſs. And they reſolved upon a ſet of forged letters, that ſhould preſume to call themſelves Mary's writing, and ſhould convict her of murder. To ſuch heights of helliſh impiety did they determine to mount, upon this occaſion! The ſuborned notaries and ſuborned peers were to prove the freedom of the reſignation. The forged letters were to prove, that, even if the reſignation was *not* free, yet the depoſition was juſt and reaſonable. She had been concerned in the murder of her huſband. She was convicted of the concern, by the evidence of her own letters. She was therefore unfit perhaps to live, and certainly unfit to reign. There was indeed an obvious contradiction, between the letters and the other teſtimonies. *Thoſe* were to ſhew her depoſition juſt. *Theſe* were to prove her reſignation free. But the ſame contradictorineſs, as I have remarked before, always attended them in their movements afterwards; and was the mark of CAIN ſet upon them for their conduct, by the hand of Providence. And what are contradictions to ſuch CAINS as theſe, who are ſweeping violently to the accompliſhment of their purpoſes, with PERJURY marſhalling them on their way, and with FORGERY bearing up their train for them?

Some days before the parliament was to meet, they aſſembled in council together, to project their meaſures againſt the meeting. Their

avowed

avowed aim, was to juſtify all their proceeding againſt Mary, if the reſignation ſhould be deemed a compulſion; and their *ſecret* one, which went hand in hand with the other though unſeen, was to frighten Mary into a voluntary reſignation afterwards. To prove the former reſignation free, they had already provided, no doubt, their ſwearing peers and their atteſting notaries. But they muſt now contrive ſome mode of vindicating their conduct, if they ſhould be voted to have depoſed their ſovereign. For this indeed *they* cannot want arguments. They have been always complaining of her government. Religion has been in continual danger, from her keen propenſities to popery and perſecution. Liberty has been nearly ſtrangled with a bow-ſtring, by the ready and obſequious mutes, that have always attended behind the chair of this imperious ſultana of Scotland. And they have, ſo recently as the 24th of July before, determined ſolemnly, we know, to arraign her for TYRANNY: and, ſpecifically, "for breach and "violation of their laws and decrees of the "realme, as well that which they do call common "laws, as their ſtatute laws; and namely, the "breach of thoſe ſtatutes, which were enacted in "her abſence, and confirmed by Monſ. de Ran-"dam and Monſ. d'Oſell in the French king her "huſband's name and hers." They ſaid ſo then; but they dare not go upon it now. Religion is generally reported to be moſt in danger, when there are *many* attached to religion, and when there are a *few* that want to make *their* attachment

nent ſubſervient to their own ambition. Liberty has always the greateſt clamours made for its ſafety, when it is leaſt in hazard of being hurt, and when the very clamours beſpeak its ſecurity moſt ſtrongly. And indeed we may ſay of Mary, I believe, with ſtrict propriety, what has been ſaid of one of her royal predeceſſors, "the *gra-* "*cious* Duncan;" that ſhe

> Had borne her faculties ſo meek, had been
> So clear in her great office, that her virtues
> Will plead, like angels, trumpet-tongued, againſt
> THE DEEP DAMNATION OF HER TAKING—OFF;
> And pity, like a naked new-born babe,
> Striding the blaſt, or heaven's cherubin, hors'd
> Upon the ſightleſs couriers of the air,
> Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,
> That tears ſhall drown the wind.

Nor let this be thought a mere flight of poetical imagination. It is hiſtorically true, in the general idea. The acts of tyranny ſpecified above, are proved at once to be fictitious, by the anachroniſms in them. The rebels mean the ordinances of their pretended parliament in Auguſt 1560. But neither Monſieur de Randan nor Monſieur d'Oiſel, nor both together, ever had any commiſſion to confirm thoſe ordinances, either from Francis or from Mary. They had even left the kingdom before thoſe ordinances were paſt, in the month of July before. And thoſe ordinances, being made by ſubjects and unſanctioned by royalty, were very naturally therefore conſidered as the mere ſtatutes of ſedition, and left in their original nothingneſs of authority; till months after

after this accuſation was uttered, even till ſedition was once more in the chair of power, and till one parliament in rebellion during the month of December 1567, confirmed what another had paſſed before.*

For theſe reaſons, and preparatory to this parliament, the rebels were greatly puzzled on what to found their own vindication. They met repeatedly to conſult upon the ſubject. They reaſoned at conſiderable length upon it. Yet they were ſtill puzzled. So difficult was it to find any ſolid ground of complaint, againſt this abuſed princeſs! Nor is this ſaid upon any common authority. I ſpeak it upon the credit of a publick record. This is not even a record of Mary's friends. It is a record of her very enemies, and of her bittereſt enemies too. It is an "act of "ſecret counſel," a regiſter of their own proceedings, written in their own council-books, and ſigned by their own regent and counſellors. "Apud Edinburgh," it ſays, "quarto die menſis "Decembris, Anno Dom. 1567. The whiche "daie my Lorde Regentis Grace, the lordes of "ſecrete counſale, and uthers, baronis, and men "of judgment,—being convenit in counſale, it "was proponit unto them *that the parliament now* "*approchis*, wheirin the CAUSE of the APPREHEN-"SION and RETENINGE of the Quene—*men be de-*"*baitit, reſſonit, and tryit*, and it found and de-"clarit, quhither [whether] the noblemen and

* Goodall, i. 32, Keith, 145 and 154, and Melvill, 26, by miſtake printed for 31.

"others,

, quhilkis tuke armes before the ſaied ap-
ſion, and whiche joyned with them and
them *at that time* or ony wiſe *ſenſyne*
], has donne the dewtie of noblemen,
bjectis, and nawiſe offendit nor tranſgreſſit
wes in *that fact* or *anie thing depending*
, outher [either] *preceding* or *followinge*
me, or not; and in caiſe it be found that
ave not offendit, but done their dewtie,
and BE WHAT MEANE a full and perfect
ad ſecuritie maie be obtanit and maid for
m, that other [either] be deid, counſale,
ſcription has enterit in that cauſe ſen the
ninge: THE MATTER BEING LARGELIE AND
GUD DELIBERACION RESSONIT AT GREAT
TH, AND UPON SUNDRY DAIES," &c.*
ngth, however, they came to one unani-
ſolution. They had taken into their view
le compaſs of Mary's publick and private
. They had looked into all the poſſibi-
calumniation from them. They could
ground of accuſation in either or in both,
uld ſtand the inſpection even of one of
n parliaments. And they muſt

Call up ſpirits from the vaſty deep,

them in ſome infernal deed of FORGERY;
they can fix any imputations upon her.
ſt," they ſay themſelves, " all the ſaied
, baronis, and others—, CAN FIND NO
R WAY OR MOYEN how to find or make

* Goodall, ii. 62.

" the

" the ſaied ſecuritie, BUT be oppynynage [open-
" ing] and reveling of the trewth and grund of
" the haill matter,—IN AS FAR AS BE DIVERS
" HIR PREVIE LETTERS—SENT BY HIR TO JAMES
" ERLL BOITHWELL, chife executor of the—hor-
" rible murdor,—IT IS MOST CERTEINE THAT
" SHE WAS PREVIE, ART AND PART, AND OF THE
" ACTUAL DEVISE AND DEID, OF THE—MURTHER
" OF THE KINGE."* This is the fulleſt and moſt deciſive vindication of Mary, that can be invented or executed by the powers of man. Even to him who believes the letters to be genuine, it is a complete and perfect vindication of all her *publick* behaviour. And to him, who

Mecum et cum Jove ſentit,

and who is firmly perſuaded of the ſpuriouſneſs of the letters; it is ſo full and ſo deciſive an atteſtation to the juſtneſs and mildneſs of her government, and to the propriety, amiableneſs, and exemplarineſs of her perſonal behaviour, as perhaps no other Queen ever had.

Thus did the rebels in vain endeavour to find ſome ground of accuſation againſt Mary, within all the regions of reality! Thus did they ſtand at that awful moment, ſelf-convicted of all their former falſehoods, and ſelf-condemned for all their former rebellions, againſt her! At laſt LETHINGTON, probably, relieved them. The idea, over which his imagination had brooded for a while in the end of July preceding, would now

* Appendix, No. i.

recur

ecur undoubtedly to his memory. He had then eported it as a fact to Throgmorton. He now uggeſted it as a fancy to his aſſociates. They 'ere ſtruck with it. They had no other reſource. 'hey could "find no other way or moyen" for ieir juſtification. Nor could "the richtueſneſs of theire quarrel, and the ſecuritie of them and theire poſteritie, BE ONY OTHER MEANE—be providit and eſtabliſhed."* They therefore ıught at it haſtily. The impudence of the act armed not their ſpirits. The enormity of the illainy deterred not their conſciences. They ere in deſperate circumſtances. They muſt ıake ſome deſperate exertions for their own de-very. And they determined upon a bold forgery, ıat ſhould bring home the charge of murder itſelf) the face of Mary.

Lethington was accordingly requeſted, no doubt,) carry his own plan into execution immediately. 'hey had ſat many days on the buſineſs before. nother day was appointed at a little diſtance, ır another conſultation. In the mean time, Le-ıington went to work. All "the ſpirits of the vaſty deep," we may preſume, hovered over im during the operation. He completed it. ınd at the next council ſuch chiefs of the faction, ; were in the infernal ſecrets of it, expreſſed to ıe reſt, that they were convinced from their ex-

* Appendix, No. i. So "Lethington" upon a ſimilar caſion "ſoon gave them eaſe, by propoſing the deſtruc-ın of David;" and "the hint was well received" (Craw-rd, 7). The fertility of this man's genius, thus, gave rth to the two grand incidents of Mary's political life.

perience, of the impoſſibility of vindicating their conduct to the Queen, except by doing what they had hitherto refrained from doing, and what they were now moſt unwilling to do, out of their great regard for the Queen, whoſe character muſt ſuffer ſeverely from the deed; but that their own vindication, their own ſecurity, and the juſtice of their common cauſe, could not by any other way or means poſſible be made and ſhewn to the world; and that therefore they were compelled at laſt to adduce the LETTERS in evidence againſt her, to charge her from them with the murder of her late huſband, and ſo to exhibit her to the eye of her ſubjects, as one deſerving all which had been or could be inflicted upon her. They "can find no other way or moyen how to find or "make the ſaied ſecuritie, but be oppynynage "and reveling of the trewth and grund of the "haill matter fra the beginninge plainlie and up-"richtlie, quhilk (in ſa far as the manifeſtation "theirof maie tend to the diſhonor or diſeſtima-"tion of the Quene) they air maiſt loith to entre "in, FOR THAT LUIF THEY BEARE UNTO HIR "PERSON,—and FOR—THAY MONY GUDE AND "EXCELLENT GIFTS AND VIRTURS QUHAREWITH "GOD SOMETIMES INDOWIT HIR, gif other-"wiſe the ſinceritie of their intentions and pro-"cedings from the beginninge mycht be known "to forrein nacions, and the inhabitantes of this "iſle (of whome mony yit remains in ſuſpence "in jugement) ſatisfiet and reſolvit of the richtu-"eſneſs of theire quarrel, and the ſecuritie of them "and theire poſteritie be ony other meane myght

"be

"be providit and eſtabliſhed." They then ſay, That all which has been done to the Queen, "was "*in the ſaied Quene's awin default*, in ſa far as be "divers hir previe lettres," &c. And the hypocriſy of parts here, ſhews ſufficiently of itſelf the villainy of the whole.

In this manner did the pretended letters of Mary come into exiſtence. They were fabricated in the end of November and the beginning of December, 1567. Their *name-day* was actually the FOURTH of December. This we muſt therefore conſider as the day of their birth, and date their exiſtence from it. On the FOURTH of December they made their appearance, nearly SIX MONTHS after the pretended ſeizure of them upon the perſon of Dalgleiſhe, and more than FOUR MONTHS after the report of them to Throgmorton. And they now appeared, equally as they were then reported, with no ſpecification of HOW, and WHEN, and WHERE they came into the hands of the rebels; with no notes of that exultation and triumph, which was ſure to have been ſhewn, on the diſcovery of the ONLY poſſible vindication of their conduct; and with plain marks of forgery upon them, from the TIME of their appearance, ſo different from that in Throgmorton's letter and that in the rebel journal; from the LUCKINESS of it, as the rebels were confeſſedly then in a ſtate of the greateſt embarraſſment concerning their vindication to parliament; from the unnatural hypocriſy of SORROW, with which the rebels introduced them to the council; and from the ſtrong STRESS and deep EMPHASIS, which the rebels laid

upon them in ſpite of their ſorrow, as a certain evidence of the Queen's ſhare in the murder, and a clear juſtification of all that they had done to her.

But, before I cloſe the ſection, let me ſubjoin one remark to the whole. The letters were firſt formed on the 4th of December. Yet the rebels *poſteriourly* dated the diſcovery of them on the 20th of June preceding, and *at the time* firſt mentioned them on the 24th of July. On the 4th of December however, *betwixt* their dating and their mentioning them, they inſinuated A NEW ÆRA for the diſcovery of them. In their act of council on that day, they "deſires it to be found "and declarit," and it was accordingly found and declared in a ſpecial law for the purpoſe, "be "the eſtates and haill body of the parliament, "that the cauſe and occaſion of the *previe con-* "*ventionis* and *meſſages* of the erles, lords, noble- "men, and baronis, and others faithful and trew "ſubjects, and *conſequentlie* theire taking of armes, "and cominge to the fields with oppin and diſ- "plait baneris," on or before the 10th of June, "and the cauſe and occaſion of the taking of the "Quene's perſon upon the 15th daie of Junii laſt "bypaſt, and holding and deteininge of the ſame "within the hous and place of Lochlevin conti- "newallie ſenſyne, preſentlie, and in all tymes "comyng; and generallie all other things in- "ventit, ſpokin, writtin, or donne be them, or "aney of them, ſen the tent daie of February "laſt bypaſt—, was in the ſaied Quene's awin "default,

" default, in as far as be divers hir previe lettres " —it is moſt certeine, that ſhe was previe,—and " of the actual deviſe and deid, of the—murther " of the kinge."* They thus ground their conſignment of the Queen to a priſon on the 16th of June, their appearance in arms againſt her on the 10th, their ſecret meſſages of ſedition and their private conventions for rebellion before, and their whole conduct concerning Bothwell and concerning Darnly, even ſo far back as the murder of Darnly on the 10th of February, upon letters which they ſaid they diſcovered on the 20th of June. But they had not ſaid ſo then. They had not yet fixed any day for the diſcovery. They were therefore free to rove at large concerning it. And they accordingly inſinuate it now, to have been made on ſome day *antecedent* to the 20th of June. That they could not *now* mean, to juſtify all that they had done *before* the 20th by letters found *on* the 20th, is obvious, I think. It would form, as I have hinted already, ſuch a ſplendid inſtance of the fatuity of uſurpation, as the world has never ſeen. An aſtoniſhing inſtance of fatuity, indeed, it forms at preſent. But then it forms the inſtance, by a combination of the *poſteriour* date of the diſcovery, with the dates and acts in this act of council. And, however ſuch a *combination* may deciſively ſhew the infatuation, yet the rebels could never be ſo far gone in idiotcy, as to ſhew it *all together*. Their *memories* might ſo far fail, but their *common-ſenſe* could not be ſo

* Goodall, ii. 63—64.

thoroughly vitiated, as to lead them into ſuch an exhibition of drivelling ſtupidity in themſelves. They inſinuate therefore the diſcovery of the letters, to have been *antecedent* to the 20th of June; by grounding proceedings antecedent to the 20th upon them. They thus intimate the diſcovery, to have been *prior to the 10th of June.* They even intimate it, to have been *previous to the 10th of February*; though ſome of the letters, by their own accounts, were actually *unwritten* then. They knock down one ninepin, in endeavouring to ſet up another. And they finally throw down all, by making them mutually and ſucceſſively to ſtrike one another.

§ II.

WE have thus at laſt come to the true and real origin of the letters. Let us now, therefore, trace out their hiſtory afterwards, and mark the revolutions which they underwent in the courſe of time. Like all other things beneath the moon, they ſuſtained ſome ſhocks and they ſuffered ſome convulſions, which greatly affected their frame. And every one of theſe will ſerve to prove the original forgery of the whole.

But let us firſt ſee, what alterations they had received in the interval, between the report made of them to Throgmorton, and the appearance of them in the council. Some they had undoubtedly received. Every author knows the difference, between a work traced and delineated upon the mind, and the ſame work drawn out and completed upon paper. And there is that difference,

ıce, between the letters which were deſcribed hrogmorton, and the letters which appeared wards. They obviouſly differ in two very ing particulars. " I do perceive," ſays ɔgmorton, " if theſe men cannot by fair means luce the Queen to their purpoſe, they mean charge her with the MURDER of her huſband, ıereof (they ſay) they have as apparent proof ainſt her as may be, as well by the teſtimony her own handwriting, which they have re-vered, as alſo by ſufficient witneſſes."

ɔth of them agree in pretending to prove guilt of murder upon Mary. But Throg-on's are " AS APPARENT PROOF AS MAY BE" ıe crime. And the poſteriour letters only ıpt to prove it, by dark hints and dubious ıations, by expreſſions which convey no ligence of murder in themſelves, and which, ɔut the ſubſequent act of murder, would not ey any intelligence at all. That this is r the caſe, may be readily ſhewn; by com-g the accounts of theſe letters, as given lly by the friends and the enemies of Mary, the account which the rebels themſelves of the others to Throgmorton. " For the ɛdgit writingis, in form of miſſive letters or ſtles," ſays one of Mary's commiſſioners on mber the 17th, 1568, " quhilk *makis na: th ſpeciallie*, quhair [as] in the ſamin NO RD IS DISPOSITING OR GIVING EXPRESS MMAND."* If it be alledged, ſay a number

* Appendix, No. xii.

of Mary's nobles on the 12th of September before, "That hir Majeſtie's writing—ſould preive "hir Grace culpabill, it may be anſwerit, that "there is IN NA PLACE MENTIOUN MADE IN IT, "BE THE QUHILK HIR HIENES MAY BE CONVICT [of murder], "albeit it were hir awin hand-writ, "as it is not."* "There is nothing in the "letters," adds Mr. Goodall, "that could plainly "ſhew the writer to have been in the fore-"knowledge, counſel, or device of any murder, "far leſs to have perſuaded or commanded it; "and as little is there about maintaining or juſ-"tifying any murderers."† And I ſhall cloſe all with an account of them, and of the proof of murder in them, from Dr. Robertſon himſelf. Of this, he declares, "there are only IMPERFECT "HINTS, OBSCURE INTIMATIONS, and DARK EX-"PRESSIONS, in the letters."‡ Such writings, therefore, could never have been the evidences deſcribed to Throgmorton. Such letters could never have been called by the rebels, "as ap-

* Appendix, No. xii. † Goodall, i. 76.

‡ Diſſ. 25. And ſee alſo Mr. Hume, v. 146—147. Mr. Tytler, in a new edition of his work, endeavours to refute this aſſertion of Dr. Robertſon's. He therefore goes to the *ſonnets*, as equally a part of the evidences with the letters. And he produces a paſſage from them, in oppoſition to the Doctor. But Mr. Tytler (I make the remark with great reſpect for him) has here fallen into a confuſion of ideas, which the *poſteriour* date of the paſſage could alone have produced. He means the *adultery*, while the Doctor means the *murder*. And he appeals to the *ſonnets* in ſupport of his argument, when, in this miſ-direction of it, he might equally have appealed to the *letters* themſelves. P. 126—131. Edit. 3d.

"parent

parent proof" of the murder "as might be." ıe two ſets of letters, indeed, ſtand in a direct poſition to each other. Both pretend to prove murderous guilt of Mary, from the teſtimony her own handwriting. But one ſet comes ward as a full and explicit proof againſt her, d the other only as a faint and feeble evidence. ıat fixes the murder upon her with a peremp- y tone of aſſurance, while this preſumes only inſinuate it. That trumpets her guilt in the ırket-place, and this is content to whiſper it the reeds.

So characteriſtically different were the letters oduced at London in 1568, from the letters ſcribed at Edinborough in 1567! But they :re alſo differenced from each other by another ·cumſtance, which is of an *external* nature, and ay therefore appear more ſtriking ſtill to my aders. The former were corroborated by *living timonies*. The latter *never pretended to any*. This very remarkable. It is alſo very evident. oncerning "the murder of her huſband," Throg- orton tells us, "—they ſay they have as ap- parent proof as may be, as well by the teſti- mony of her own handwriting, which they have recovered, as alſo BY SUFFICIENT WIT- NESSES." They *then* meant to have fortified ıe credit of their forged epiſtles, with the con- ırrent atteſtations of ſome of their ſuborned ependents. They had them all ready for the ork in reality or imagination, on the 24th of uly, 1567. Yet they never produced them. .nd they never offered to produce even a ſingle witneſs,

witneſs, either at York or at Weſtminſter, to Mary's ſhare in the murder. So greatly did they alter their plan, after Throgmorton wrote! We have previouſly ſeen them altering it eſſentially, with regard to the *contents* of the letters. We now find them changing it intirely, with reſpect to the *confirmation* of them. They even changed it, in a ſeemingly retrograde kind of abſurdity. When their letters were full of the murder of the King, they thought it prudent to ſuperadd the ſecurity of witneſſes. When their letters conveyed only dark and imperfect intimations concerning the murder, they thought it unneceſſary to add any witneſſes at all. And yet this was the genuine reſult of unfounded villainy, bold at the outſet, ſuſpicious in the progreſs, reſtleſs in its ſpirit, and ſhifting in its meaſures.

When the rebels firſt formed the deſign of a number of letters, that ſhould convict Mary of murder under her own hand; they very naturally reſolved to make them explicit, concerning the murder. They were to form them for this end. They would therefore not confine themſelves, to dubious hints of her guilt. Hints would be too weak for their purpoſe. Dubiouſneſs would be too frigid for their zeal. They would take care to mark her enormity, in clear and peremptory terms. The grand object of crimination would come forward to view. Page after page would point at it. And a full blaze of light would be thrown upon it, from every quarter. Such would be the natural operation of the mind, when it delineated the plan to itſelf.

Such

Such alſo, by their own account, appears to have been the actual operation of their minds, when they delineated the plan to themſelves. They made their imaginary letters to form "as ap-"parent a proof as might be," of the participation of Mary in the murder. Nor were they content even with this. They would go farther. Not a loop-hole ſhould be left, to hang a doubt of her guilt upon. And they provided "ſufficient "witneſſes," to co-operate with the written evidence.

But when the ardour of conception was cooled, when the eagerneſs of crimination had ſpent itſelf, and when they calmly reflected on their own purpoſes afterwards; the ever-wakeful ſpirit of ſuſpicion began to ſtir itſelf, in the boſoms of theſe profligates. They ſaw the peril they ſhould be in, from their corroborating evidences. Witneſſes, however ſteeled with impudence and impiety, might yet relent, recede, and retract. Their advanced poſts would thus betray them. And their very outworks would be turned againſt them. They therefore determined to cut off this dangerous acceſſion of ſtrength. They reſolved to contract the dimenſions of their ground. They will draw all their forces into their camp. And they will there ſecure themſelves behind the lines of their letters. Letters are more manageable than witneſſes. *They* will never relent, recede, or retract. *They* will always ſpeak, whatever their prompters chooſe they ſhould ſpeak.

But even *theſe* are to be formed upon a new plan.

It violates every principle of probability to ſuppoſe, that letters, with ſuch a plenitude of murderous evidence in them, ſhould be ſent WITHOUT THE GUARD OF A SEAL. Yet the rebels were compelled to ſend them without it. Mary had ſtill her own ſeal in her own poſſeſſion. Her commiſſioners, ſay Elizabeth's on the 6th of October, 1568, "produced a commyſſion written on paper, "ſubſcribed by the Quene of Scotts hand, and "ſealed with her ſignet."* Mary alſo, in the December and January following, ſent them "twa ſeveral writingis—, ſubſcrivit with hir awin "hand, and *under hir ſignet.*" † And for this reaſon "the alledgit writingis in form of miſſive "letteris or epiſtles," ſays an author at the time, and in an addreſs to Elizabeth herſelf, "are not "ſubſcrivit be the alledgit writer thairof, nor "SEILLIT nor SIGNETIT."‡ They were neither atteſted by her ſeal at the bottom, nor ſecured by her ſeal on the outſide. And ſuch a diſplay of murderous guilt in an *open* letter, would have counteracted its own purpoſes, would have ſhocked the faith of credulity itſelf, and have proved eventually a full vindication of Mary. They therefore addreſſed themſelves to the buſineſs, in a different manner from what they had once deſigned. They were obliged to pull that little creation to pieces, which had been formerly modelled in their minds. They were obliged to form a new one of freſh materials. They took particular care to avoid the original fault of their

* Goodall, ii. 113. † Ibid. 311. ‡ Appendix, No. xii.

plan.

The broad and open day-light of murder, h was to be thrown over *that*, was ſhaded nd ſoftened away in *this*. The ſtrokes con- ng the murder were now touched with ſuch ıtle hand, that they might with the greateſt ; be committed even to an *open* letter.

ıt, in the uſual precipitancy of the human , the rebel operations ran as much into an ſs in diminiſhing, as the rebel imaginations gone before in aggravating, the evidence of ler againſt Mary. They have ſhaded away ight ſo much, which was to play upon this, capital, object in the piece; that they have eft a ſingle ray to ſhew it. Mary's concern e murder, diſappears from the face of the e. We are aware indeed, that the letters produced as proofs of murder intended ıer. This therefore lends a ſpur to our neſs, and furniſhes wings to our imagina- By the aid of both, we lengthen the im- ct hints into intimations, we enlighten the , and we aſcertain the dubious. But to a who has his imagination properly at reſt, his acuteneſs not improperly ſtimulated, it ars ſurpriſing, that the letters ſhould ever been produced as vouchers of murder at all. ordingly we obſerve of the rebels themſelves, at their firſt production of them before the miſſioners of Elizabeth, they would not ſub- hem even to theſe partial and credulous ex- ers, without previouſly prepoſſeſſing them erning her ſhare in the murder. "For our tter inſtruction," ſay the commiſſioners them- ſelves,

ſelves, " after declaration of ſuch circumſtances, " as led and induced to vehement preſumptions " to judge her guiltie of the ſaid murder," they ſhewed the letters.* And ſo thoſe writings, which once formed, in the opinion of their very planners, " as apparent a proof" of murder " as " might be" againſt Mary; are now, in the opinion of their very makers, unable to bear the weight of any proof themſelves, and obliged to be propped and ſhored up by declarations, inductions, and preſumptions from without. They cannot indeed ſupport any proof. They can hardly maintain a ſtrong ſuſpicion.

§ III.

THERE is alſo another circumſtance concerning the letters, which equally ſhews the delineated originals of them, to be materially different from the actual copies. This is likewiſe intimated to us, by a paſſage in Throgmorton's diſpatches. And it runs thus. " They mean," ſays that embaſſadour, " to charge her," Mary, " with INCONTINENCY, as well with the Earl " Bothwell, as with others; having (as they ſay) " ſufficient proof againſt her for this crime."

The rebels *then* formed the project, which they purſued afterwards. They reſolved to charge her, as they charged her afterwards in the letters, with the crime of adultery. So far they were conſiſtent in their plan! But this was all their conſiſtency. They *then* deſigned to accuſe her of adul-

* Appendix, No. v.

tery,

tery, *without the aid of the letters.* This is plain from the manner, in which Sir Nicholas ſpeaks of the two accuſations of adultery and of murder. For the latter, he tells us, "they ſay they have as "apparent proof againſt her as may be, as well by "the teſtimony of her own handwriting, which "they have recovered, as alſo by ſufficient wit-"neſſes." But for the former, he adds, "they "have (as they ſay) SUFFICIENT PROOF AGAINST HER." The letters, we ſee, are reſtricted entirely to the charge of murder. They have no connection with the charge of adultery. *This* is founded wholly on the ſame groundwork, upon which one half of the other reſts, on "ſufficient witneſſes," as it is called in the former accuſation, or on "ſufficient proof," as it is denominated in the latter. And no *letters* were then pretended to be recovered by the rebels, that could ſubſtantiate at all a charge of adultery againſt Mary.

Nor was the adultery, that was thus to be brought home to her by *witneſſes*, confined entirely to Bothwell. No! It was extended to others. "They mean to charge her with incontinency," ſays Throgmorton, "as well with the Earl Both-"well, as with others." And for her adulterous commerce with others, as well as with him, "they "had (as they ſaid) ſufficient proof againſt her." They therefore meant to brand her as a woman of wantonneſs, deſerted by all ſenſe of modeſty, and given up to an unbridled licentiouſneſs of life. They had their witneſſes ready to prove it all. Mary was to appear, as the very Meſſalina of her court. Bothwell and others were to be ſhewn, as ſucceſſively

ſucceſſively the implements of her looſe gratifications. And ſhe was to be exhibited in all thoſe glowing colours of infamy, in which theſe miſcreant ſons of detraction exhibited her afterwards, by the proſtituted pencil of a Buchanan.

This they intended not to have left to Buchanan's *Detection*. They deſigned to have had a prior *detection* of their own. And they had, what Buchanan has not, ſome witneſſes for the pretended facts. But they afterwards contracted their plan upon this, as well as the other points of accuſation. They diſcharged all their witneſſes. They reſolved to find different evidence. They left Buchanan to hint at her ſtory of ſhame with "OTHERS." They reſolved to tell in form her commerce with "EARL BOTHWELL." They made the adultery acceſſary to the murder. They united the two charges together. And they engrafted the whole upon the letters. They thus cut off all *living* evidences. They diſengaged themſelves from thoſe dangerous auxiliaries, which, like the elephants in ancient war, were as likely to make head againſt their employers, as to fight for them; and, on any ſharp attack from the enemy, would be almoſt ſure to turn upon their friends, and trample them to death. They prepared to bring forces into the field, which they could keep under better command. *Written* teſtimonies would maintain their poſts, with all the heavy bravery of Ruſſians. Like them, they might be beaten down indeed by ſuperiour power. But, like them alſo, they could never be forced to fly.

So

So very ſtriking an alteration was now made, in the form and faſhion of the letters! At firſt they had not a hint in them, of any adulterous wickedneſs. They told only of the murder. This was all the dreadful ſecret, that they were charged to convey. And the adultery was to be publiſhed by *vivâ voce* evidence. But now they have been taught another leſſon. They have been made to forget, nearly, all their former tale of murder. They have taken up a new one of adultery. And this adultery is all with Bothwell.

In doing this, however, the rebels equally as before overſhot the mark at which they were aiming. With all the haſty indiſcretion, with which they meant to diſplay the guilt of murder in the firſt letters, they actually blazoned out the impudence of adultery in the ſecond. This appears ſo ſtrong upon the face of the letters now, that Mary muſt have been a Meſſalina indeed, to have written as they dictated to her. And yet, to aggravate the abſurdity, they deſcribe this very Meſſalina of their own making, as attached entirely to *one*, as devoted entirely to *his* love, and as reſigned up in body and in ſoul entirely to *his* will.

The natural indelicacy of their *maſculine* minds, diſabled them from giving us one touch of love purely feminine. They knew little more of the paſſion, than the impulſes of inſtinct and the ſenſitiveneſs of nature. They therefore deſcribed a moſt accompliſhed princeſs, as addreſſing her lover with all the groſſneſs of a mere man. But

this was not all. They knew not how to paint a queen in love with one of her ſubjects. They therefore repreſent her, as acting with all the ſneaking humility of a cottager to a peer. And, from ſome ſtrange predominancy of meanneſs in the perſonal fabricator of the whole, they give her at times the very tone of vulgarity in love. A few inſtances will ſhew this. I ſhall take them juſt as they ariſe. "*The devil ſinder us,*" ſhe is made to exclaim, "and God knit us togidder for "ever, for the maiſt faithfull coupill that ever "he unitit: *this is my faith, I will die in it.*"* I am, ſhe ſays in another place, "verray glaid to "wryte unto zow quhen the reſt are ſleipand, "ſen I cannot ſleip as thay do, and *as I wald* "*deſyre,* that is, *in zour armes,* my deir lufe."† "Waryit mot this pokiſche [pocky] man be," her huſband, "that cauſes me haif ſa mekle pane, "for, without him, I ſuld have *an far pleſander* "*ſubject to diſcourſe upon.*"‡ "Seing to *obey* zow, "my deir lufe, I ſpair *nouther honour, conſcience,* "*haſarde, nor greitnes quhatſumevir*; *tak it, I pray* "*zow,* in gude part," as from "the maiſt faith- "ful luifer that ever ze had, or ever ſall have."§ "Zour *humble* and faithful lufe *hopis to be ſchortly* "*ane uther thing to zow,* for the reward of my "irkſum travellis."‖ "Now, Schir, I have "brokin my promeis; becaus ze *commandit* me "nouther to wryte nor ſend unto zow: zit I have "not done this to *offend* zow: and gif ze knew

* Vol. ii. L. i. S. xviii. † Ibid. S. xix.
‡ Ibid. S. xx. § L. i. S. xxxiii. ‖ Ibid. S. xxxiv.

" the feir yat I have preſently, ze wald not have " *ſa mony contrary ſuſpiciounis* in zour thocht; " quhilk notwithſtanding I *treit and chereis*, as " proceeding from *the thing in the warld that I* " *maiſt deſyre*, and *ſeikis faſteſt to haif*, quhilk is " zour gude grace; *of the quhilk my behaviour ſall* " *aſſure me.*"*

Such was the coarſe *kirtle* and the homely *neckatee*, in which theſe wretched repreſenters of Mary dreſſed themſelves up, for the exhibition of a Queen, dignified, refined, and elegant. But their deſire to fix the imputation of adultery ſtrongly upon her, blinded them to all the folly of their conduct. They were even hurried by it into ſtill greater extravagancies. The Queen was made to expreſs all this violence of affection for her adulterer, to ſhew all this contempt and hatred for her huſband, to ſpeak all this earneſtneſs for a ſpeedy ſeparation from the one and a ſpeedy union with the other, and to utter all this eagerneſs for being in the other's arms at that moment; in letters that were ſent UNSEALED, in letters that were ſent by DIFFERENT MESSENGERS, in letters that were ſure to be read by the bearers, and reported by them to others. And thus the writings, which once had not a ſingle ſtain of adultery upon them, are now polluted with open and un-covered adultery from end to end.

* L. iii. S. ii.

§ IV.

THESE two, very pointed, proofs of variation in the form and ſubſtance of the letters, reflect each a luſtre upon the other, ſerve each to confirm and corroborate the other, and make both to evidence the forgery of all in the cleareſt manner. But theſe took place, before the letters had been properly preſented by their fabricators to the publick. They were ſpoke of indeed. They were deſcribed. They were ſpoke of by a perſonage of the firſt authority among the rebels. They were deſcribed by him to an embaſſadour of Elizabeth's, who was ſent to negotiate with the rebels, and who was confidentially entruſted with their deſigns at times. Yet they had not been written then. They were therefore in the womb of time as yet. What alterations this litter of deformity might *there* undergo, would neceſſarily be inviſible to the world at large. But the litter were brought to light afterwards. And, even then, they were continually licked into form, by the perſevering applications of their parents.

The letters, as haſtily traced upon the imagination of Lethington on July the 24th, 1567, were upon ſerious conſideration rejected in the moments of execution. Another ſet of letters was formed upon a different plan. The murder was to be no longer the whole. The adultery was to claim a ſhare of attention. And both were to become the objects of the letters. This

was done. A parliament was then ſummoned. The letters were produced in their new form. A violent law was paſſed againſt Mary. And Murray triumphed in the happy efficacy of his forgeries.

For this purpoſe was it, that the letters were firſt fabricated in themſelves and firſt produced to the publick. But the moments of their exhibition and birth, were the witneſſes of their ſhame. And the triumph of Murray was daſhed, by an expoſure of his villainy. The letters betrayed the ſpuriouſneſs of their origin, at their very firſt appearance in publick.

Preparatory to the meeting of parliament, as I have previouſly ſhewn, Murray called a number of his friends together, and formed a privy council with them. This was continued on to the 4th of December 1567. "The which daie," ſays the journal of the council, "my lorde regentis "grace, the lordes of ſecret counſale, and uthers, "baronis, and men of jugement, being convenit "in counſale," it was determined to produce ſome letters in a handwriting ſimilar to Mary's, and to fix upon them a charge of murder againſt her. They accordingly produce the charge and the letters together. "Be divers hir previe let-"tres," they ſay, "writtin and ſubſcrivit with "her awen hand, and ſent by hir to James Erll "Boithwell," &c. "it is moſt certeine that ſhe "was previe, art and part, and of the actual de-"viſe and deid, of the—murther of the kinge."*

* Appendix, No. i.

When they planned the letters, the murder was the only object of them. When they executed them, the adultery was placed in the principal point of viſion, and the murder was only ſeen, or thought to be ſeen, at a diſtance. Yet they perſiſted in their ſcheme of accuſation, as if the letters were ſtill in their original form. They charged Mary with murder upon the authority of letters, that had once been intended to have the evidences of murder very ſtrong upon them, but in reality had never had any at all. And they never charged her with adultery upon the credit of writings, which were full of adultery in almoſt every page. But then theſe were originally meant, to have had no traces of adultery in them. The plan of effective operations was formed, upon the original model of the letters. And *that* was ſtill purſued, when *this* was altered. Hence ariſes a very groſs abſurdity, upon the face of the rebel accuſations. They adduce writings to prove a murder, of which the writings *know* nothing. They adduce writings that prove an adultery in the plaineſt manner, and yet ground not any accuſation of adultery upon them. Their charges and their evidences are quite at croſs purpoſes. And, as this extraordinary fact is very clearly explained by the variations made in the original form of the letters, ſo does it caſt a light back upon thoſe letters themſelves, and confirm the concluſions which we have drawn from Throgmorton's account of them. Nor do the evidences and charges appear with ſuch averted faces to each other, merely at the preſent *out-ſet* of the buſineſs.

buſineſs. They carried the ſame *Janus-like* appearance, in the middle and in the concluſion of it. Thus Murray, when he offered to have the letters ſhewn to Elizabeth, calls them "ſic letteris—that ſufficientlie, in our opinioun, preivis hir conſenting to the *murthure* of the king hir lauchful huſband."* Thus alſo at York he and they exhibited the letters, for "ſuch matteir as they had, to condempne the Quene of Scottes of the *murder* of her huſband."† Thus again at Weſtminſter they charged the Queen, with being "of the foirknawledge, counſal, deviſe, perſwader, and commandar, of the——*murder*."‡ And to prove this they produced the letters, which proved no "foreknowledge," no "counſel," no "deviſe," no "perſuaſion," and no "command." So ſtrangely was the whole machine of accuſations thrown off its center of reſt, by the ſhock of the alterations already made in the model of the letters!

Theſe writings, however, were laid before the parliament afterwards. But, as there was ſure to be a large party there in favour of the Queen, the rebels, not content with all the precautions that they had taken before, tied up their tongues and hands at once, by a moſt extraordinary kind of additional charm. "Sindrie nobilmen that was hir Grace's favouraris," ſay thoſe very perſons afterwards, "then preſent, buir with all" the rebel proceedings there, "*maiſt principallie* for

* Appendix, No. iii. † Ibid. No. v.
‡ Goodall, ii. 207.

" ſafety of hir Grace's LYFE, quhilk, or thair " cuming to parliament, was *concludit and ſub-* " *ſcryvit be ane greit part of hir takeris*, to be " TAKEN FRA HER IN MAIST CREWEL MANNER, " as is *notourlie knawin*."* By the power of this magick, they bound the friends of Mary faſt. Her enemies were doubly active. The parliament conſiſted only of both. The letters were produced. And a law was paſſed exactly in the terms, in which the act of ſecret council had drawn it up before. It begins thus: " Item, anent the " artickle proponit be the erlis, lordis, and uther " nobillmen, quha tuik armis at Carbarrie hill, " upon the 15th day of Junii laſt by-paſt." And it finds, juſt as the act of ſecret council had found before, that all which had been done was " in " the ſaid Quenis awin default, in ſa far as, be " divers hir previe letteris writtin halelie with hir " awin hand, and ſend be hir to James ſumtyme " Erle of Bothwell, chief executour of the " horribill murthour,—it is maiſt certane that ſcho " was previe," &c.†

In the act of council the letters are deſcribed, as " writtin AND SUBSCRIVIT with her awen hand," and in the act of parliament as " WRITTIN " HALELIE with hir awin hand." Whence ariſes this difference? It is apparently a very extraordinary one. It ſtrikes ſtrongly upon the mind. And it is authenticated in the cleareſt manner. The letters, no doubt, were *exhibited* before the

* Goodall, ii. 360. † Appendix, No. ii.

council.

council. Even Murray could not have had the effrontery, to aſk and to procure a *charge* of *murder* againſt Mary, upon the teſtimony of writings *not ſeen*. The council therefore ſaw them. Yet they repreſent them "as written *and ſubſcribed* with her "own hand." They were certainly ſeen by the parliament too. I know, indeed, that the friends of Mary to this day contend they were not. But I am conſtrained by the force of truth, to ſeparate from them in this as well as in ſome other points. Murray could ſtill leſs than before have had the effrontery, to aſk and to procure a *ſentence* of *murder* againſt Mary, upon the authority of writings that dared not to ſhow their faces. And Murray and Mary's nobles concur to ſay expreſsly, that they were ſeen. On the Duke of Norfolk's privately propoſing to Murray at York, not to produce his letters to the commiſſioners; "my "reply to that was," ſays Murray himſelf, "how "the matter had paſſed in parliament, and THE "LETTERS SEEN TO MANY, ſo that the abſtract-"ing of the ſame could not then ſecure her to "any purpoſe."* Murray's word indeed will not be readily admitted upon a dubious point, by either the friends of Mary or myſelf, without the concurrence of ſome other teſtimony. I haſten therefore to ſuch a teſtimony. What pretended to be "hir Majeſtie's writing," the very nobles of Mary's party ſay, was "PRODUCIT IN PARLIA-"MENT."† Yet the parliament deſcribe the letters from an equal view of them with

* Robertſon, ii. 397. † Goodall, ii. 360—361.

the

the council itſelf, in a manner eſſentially different; and as NOT "written *and ſubſcribed* by her "own hand," but only as "written" by it, and as written "wholly" by it. Here we have viſion againſt viſion, and record againſt record. Which of them ſhall we take? We know not which to take. We are floating betwixt two oppoſite tides. One drives us to ſuppoſe the letters only *written* by the Queen. The other compels us to believe them both *written and ſubſcribed* by her. And which ſhall carry us away by its impulſe at laſt?

The former muſt, ſays Mr. Hume. The whole difficulty, according to his ſolution of it, reſults from "the inaccuracy or blunder of the "clerk." And "the miſtake is eaſily accounted "for: the letters were only wrote by her, the "ſecond contract with Bothwell was only ſub-"ſcribed; a proper accurate diſtinction was not "made, and they were all ſaid to be wrote and "ſubſcribed."* Nor is "a proper accurate diſ-"tinction" *yet* made. The *ſecond* contract, indeed, pretended only to be ſubſcribed. But the *firſt* pretended, equally with the letters at one time, to be both written and ſubſcribed.† Having cleared up this little confuſion, let us attend to the argument itſelf. And let us obſerve, in order to give a full energy to it, that the rebels on the 10th of December 1568, when they declared at Weſtminſter, "good honeſt men, full "ſurely!" how they came by the evidences

* Hiſt. v. 148. † Appendix, No. v. and xi.

againſt

againſt Mary; ſpoke of them, "as writtin or "ſubſcrivit be hir hand."* But then *they* ſpeak of "divers miſſive letteris, ſonnettis, obligati-"ounis or contractis for mariage, betwix the "Quene and Erle Bothwille."† And the acts of council and of parliament, as Mr. Tytler has very juſtly replied,‡ ſpeak only of "her privie "letters." Theſe alone are ſaid by the parliament, to have been written wholly by her own hand. Theſe alone are ſaid by the council, to have been both written and ſubſcribed by it. Theſe alone *could* be mentioned or meant at all by either. THEY ALONE WERE PRODUCED TO EITHER. The *contracts*, either firſt or ſecond, were *not* produced. The *ſonnets* were equally *not* produced. They could neither of them, therefore, be within the purview of the council. They could neither of them be in the contemplation of the parliament. And Mr. Hume's clerk, inſtead of being ſet down for a blunderer by his ingenious employer, muſt have been a much more ingenious man than himſelf; as he was poſſeſſed of the peculiar faculty, a ſuperiour kind of ſecond-ſight in memory perhaps, of alluding to papers which he had never ſeen, of combining the ſtores of ſight with the treaſures of revelation in his mind, yet marking with ſome diſtinctneſs the real boundaries of both, and ſo referring half of his deſcription to the one and half to the other.

* Goodall, ii. 92. † Ibid. ibid. ‡ P. 9. Edit. 1ſt, which is the edition that I invariably uſe, except when I ſay to the contrary.

So

So contemptible does Mr. Hume's ſolution appear, when we bring it to the ſlighteſt teſt of trial! Yet a writer has recently ſtepped forth, in oppoſition to Mr. Tytler; and pronounced it "not" a "contemptible" ſolution. This writer has given himſelf to the world, in "Miſcellaneous Remarks" on Mr. Tytler's work.* He is plainly an enemy to Mary, a diſciple of Dr. Robertſon's or Mr. Hume's. Moſt probably he is a pupil of the former. But, whatever he is, he is evidently *very young*. He ſhould have ſtaid longer at the feet of his political Gamaliel, before he had ventured to become a teacher himſelf. He ſhould have "ſtaid at Jericho, till his beard was grown." And if a young man choſe to be artful, if his youthful integrity would permit him to aſſume a diſguiſe, he ſhould have taken care to wrap it cloſely about him. He affects the air of one of Mary's friends. Yet he writes with the venom of her enemies. He has not much indeed, becauſe he has little ſtrength. But he ſhews as much, as his ſtrength will permit him to ſhew. And, to apply the witty remark of a *Cavalier*, "young Sir Harry Vane, if he lives, will come "to be old Sir Harry." He informs us in his firſt page, that "the intercourſe between Mary "and the Earl of Bothwell was ill-fated, and in "its conſequences diſaſtrous; *but, with reſpect to* "*her, it was innocent.*" Yet, even after ſuch an aſſertion, he plainly is endeavouring to make the epiſtolary part of that intercourſe appear to be

* Printed for Robſon and Robinſon, London, 1784.

genuine,

ine, and therefore guilty indeed; by anſwer-
the objections, that have been made to its
ineneſs. And this he does, under the diſ-
nuous pretence of clearing the cauſe of
y's vindication, from ſome arguments that
e it. Such has been the influence of the
writings in favour of Mary, upon the mind
he publick; that even an enemy is now
ged to put on the uniform of her friends, to
e himſelf in the ranks with them, and to
nd a zeal for their cauſe.

e accordingly takes part with Mr. Hume,
erning this extraordinary variation in the
rds. He is even gallant enough, to come
aſſiſt him at the very moment of his defeat.
he has generoſity enough, to wiſh to cover
retreat which he had not power to ſtop.
his gallantry is greater than his prudence,
his generoſity is ſuperior to his force. He
induced me, by his interference, to follow
ſtunning blow which Mr. Tytler had given
Hume, to purſue the enemy which he had
ged to retire, and to improve the ſucceſs (I
) into a complete diſcomfiture. And having
this, I turn upon the auxiliary himſelf. Mr.
ne's ſolution, he ſays, is "not contemptible,
wever much it may be deſpiſed by ſome
en: for as *letter of tack* and *letter of penſion*
e phraſes uſed in Scotland, ſo *letter of eſpouſal*
ay be proper enough."* This gentleman
ars from many circumſtances, to be a Scotch-

* P. 7

man.

man. Indeed the ſubject of Mary's innocence or of Mary's guilt, has been almoſt entirely confined to the Scotch. And I know not whether I am not the firſt Engliſhman, that has written a large treatiſe profeſſedly on the point. Yet, though a Scot, he is not much converſant with the idioms of the Scottiſh language. Had he been, he might have given a greater force to his argument, than he has done. I will do it for him, before I attack it. This will be acting with the honourableneſs of an old knight-errant. I acted with a little of this ſpirit to Mr. Hume before. And I ought not to be leſs generous to his kind aſſiſtant. He wants it as much as he, though he came as an aſſiſtant to him.

The Scotch formerly denoted; and do denote ſtill, I ſuppoſe; *all* ſorts of writings by the appellation of LETTERS. We do ſo in ſome meaſure ourſelves, in the uſe of the word *letters* for literature. Hence come our author's "letter of "tack," and "letter of penſion." Hence alſo a contract for marriage may very analogouſly be denominated a "letter of eſpouſal." And, what is deciſive upon the topic, even *the very contract* mentioned by Mr. Hume is expreſsly ſtyled *a letter*, by an author *of the very time*. That author is MURRAY himſelf. In enumerating the written evidences which he produced againſt Mary, he mentions "the contractis or obligatiounis for "marriage,—and all *utheris* LETTERIS."* The Earl of Morton, alſo, ſpeaks of them afterwards

* Appendix, No. iv.

in

n the very ſame ſtyle exactly, as " contractis or ' obligatiounis for marriage,—and *utheris* LET- ' TERIS."* But then they both diſtinguiſh very :arefully, what common-ſenſe requires every anguage very carefully to diſtinguiſh, betwixt :piſtolary and other writings. Murray mentions :' all *miſſive letteris*, contractis or obligatiounis :" for marriage, ſonettis or luif-ballettis, and all " utheris letteris." Morton ſpecifies " the *miſſive* " *letteris*, contractis or obligatiounis for marriage, " ſonettis or luif-ballettis, and utheris letteris." The acts of council and parliament alſo, obſerving the ſame diſtinctiveneſs of language, ſpeak of " her *privie* letters." Theſe are evidently the ſame with the " miſſive letters" of Morton and Murray. They are even ſaid expreſsly by both the parliament and the council, to have been actually miſſive; being deſcribed by both, as " divers hir " previe lettres, *writtin and ſubſcrivit*" or " *writ-* " *tin halelie*, with *hir awen hand*, and SENT by " hir to James Erll Boithwell." And, as I have already noticed, *theſe* were the *only* letters or writings, that were produced before the council, or that were preſented to the parliament.

So eaſily is the auxiliary defeated, as well as the principal! But the former afterwards comes forward from his ſubordinate ſituation as an auxiliary, and aſſumes the tone and ſtalk of a principal himſelf. He thinks Mr. Hume's argument not a bad one. But he has *a better of his own*. " Another," he ſays, " and a more eaſy and

* Appendix, No. iv.

" obvious

" obvious ſolution may be ſuggeſted." It is this. " He who writes a deed with his own " hand," he ſays, " does generally ſign it, and " it is hardly poſſible to figure a caſe of a perfect " deed, written by the party's own hand, and not " ſigned by him: hence *written and ſubſcribed* " conſtantly go together in common language, " juſt as *heirs and executors*. As every one, con- " verſant in law-buſineſs, muſt have ſeen *executors* " joined to *heirs*, in conſequence of what may be " termed the cuſtomary affinity between them, " although the maker of the deed meant not to " ſpeak of executors; ſo, in like manner, the " clerk of privy council might have added *ſub-* " *ſcrivit* to *written*. It appears that this inac- " curacy was obſerved, and immediately cor- " rected."* Such is the " more eaſy and obvious " ſolution" ſuggeſted by this gentleman! But whether it is *more* obvious and eaſy than Mr. Hume's, may ſoon be ſettled. It is neither eaſy nor obvious at all. The very confuſedneſs of it ſhews this ſufficiently. And nothing but the natural partiality, which the mind always bears to its own conceptions; or the equally natural unfixedneſs of a frivolous mind; could have induced him to mention it. It has two advantages, however, over Mr. Hume's. It does not militate againſt the poſitive fact mentioned before. And, what perhaps is equally uſeful, it has ſo little pointedneſs in it, that it is not eaſy to meet its force.

* P. 7.

The

The confuſion of ideas, that prevailed in the author's underſtanding when he conceived the argument, appears very evident in his management of it. Even as he ſtates it himſelf, it amounts only to this, that ſo it might be. Yet in the very next words he aſſumes this argument of mere poſſibility, for an abſolute evidence of reality. "The clerk of privy council," he ſays, "MIGHT have added *ſubſcrivit* to *written*." And yet, as we are inſtantly told, "IT APPEARS" that he did add it, that "this inaccuracy" was actually committed by him, that it was actually "OBSERVED," and that it was actually and "IMMEDIATELY CORRECTED."

Such is the whole of the argument, as ſtated by himſelf! Let us now examine the parts of it, as they ſtand before us. "He who writes a "deed with his own hand, does generally ſign it." This is ſurely a very ſtrange poſition. Who writes a *deed* with his own hand? Not one in ten thouſand. And if this gentleman be in the law, as from his alluſion I take him to be, he hopes for the ſake of the profeſſion, I preſume, that not one in ten thouſand will ever do it; unleſs indeed he is one of thoſe peculiarly malignant lawyers, who would be glad of confuſion for the ſake of advantage, who would ſacrifice the world to their gains, and are ready, in their rage for profit, to cry out with "the enraged Northumberland,"

> Let heaven kiſs earth! now let not nature's hand
> Keep the wild flood confin'd! let order die!

But when any one does write a deed with his own hand, it ſeems, he *generally* ſigns it. He *always* ſigns it, if it be a deed. If he draws it up as a deed, he will equally as a deed ſign it. But what connection has all this with the letters before the council and parliament? It has this. "Hence *written and ſubſcribed* conſtantly go to-"gether in common language, juſt as *heirs and* "*executors.*" The technical union of heirs and executors is very natural, becauſe theſe are legally two grand and parallel links in the chain of tranſmitted property. But is there any ſuch union, or any ſuch reaſon for an union, between the ſubſcribing and the writing of a paper, whether a law-deed or not? Do deeds generally, or even ever, make uſe of the combination "writ-"ten and ſubſcribed," as they do of "heirs and "executors?" Certainly not. The ſubſcriber is almoſt always a different man from the writer. And, even when he is not, none but an affected ſimpleton would think, if ever *one* thought, of recording upon his deed, that he *wrote* as well as ſubſcribed it.

But even if all this was true, if the terms "written and ſubſcribed" were as common aſſociates in the language of the law, as "heirs "and executors" are; what then? Would every or would any lawyer, from this frequent recurrence of the phraſe, always ſuperadd "ſubſcribed" to "written," whenever he had occaſion to mention the letters? Would he particularly, in mentioning any writing that was *not* ſubſcribed, from the force of a merely mechanical bias, and

in

in direct oppoſition to his own view of it, mention it as equally ſubſcribed and written? The ſuppoſition is ſufficiently refuted by the ſtatement. The very queſtion precludes all anſwer. But, even if he would, was the clerk of the council a lawyer, and the clerk of the parliament none; and were the acts, either of the parliament or of the council, uſually drawn up in the law-language, practiſed within this gentleman's *forum juſtitiæ?* It does not appear, that either was. Nor were the acts of the council, any more than thoſe of the parliament, ever ſaid by the clerks to be written and ſubſcribed by the members. They were both *ſubſcribed* by them. Both theſe were particularly ſo.* But they were neither of them *written*. And this very act of council does not purport, to be either written or ſubſcribed by them.†

I have purſued this ridiculous argument at a greater expence of time and words, than it had a right to claim at my hands; in order to ſhew it ridiculous, in every principle and particle of it. It may thus ſerve as an uſeful ſpecimen of the wretched reaſoning, in which the adverſaries of Mary are now compelled to take refuge. The clerk of the council was Alexander Hay, a notary publick.‡ He was uſed, as a publick notary, to draw up writings and to atteſt them. He was peculiarly, therefore, in the habits of accuracy. His very profeſſion conſiſted in this. He ſaw the letters produced in form. He was

* Goodall, ii. 65—66 and 69. † Ibid. 65. ‡ Ibid. 84. See ii. 369, for a *clergyman* being a notary publick to Queen Mary.

to deſcribe them. He therefore examined them. From that examination he deſcribed them. He neceſſarily deſcribed as he ſaw. He deſcribed them as they were. And he deſcribed them as written and ſubſcribed by Mary. He could not err. He could not miſtake concerning the ſubſcription, any more than concerning the writing. He ſaw a ſubſcription to them. He therefore noticed them as ſubſcribed. And, what doubly precludes all poſſibility of a miſtake, his deſcription of them is authenticated in the fulleſt manner, by the ſignatures of the counſellors preſent; even by Murray himſelf, by Morton, and by a long train of others.*

But, when the letters were re-produced in parliament, the clerk there acted juſt as the clerk before had acted, and as all clerks muſt act in the ſame ſituation. He was James Makgill, "Clericus Rotulorum Regiſtri," as he ſtyles himſelf. He was a man of much more conſequence than the other. He drew up acts of parliament. He enrolled them in the journals of parliament. And he exemplified and atteſted them for publication.† He ſaw the letters produced in parliament. He muſt have read them to the houſe. He was alſo to deſcribe them in the new act. He equally examined and equally deſcribed them, with the clerk before. He equally deſcribed as he ſaw. He equally deſcribed them as they were. And his deſcription was equally authenticated, by being engrafted into a bill, by being paſſed

* Goodall, ii. 65. † Ibid. 381.

in

in form through the three eſtates in parliament, and by being ratified into a law by the regent Murray. *

The original difficulty, then, ſubſiſts ſtill in its full force. How ſhall we diſengage ourſelves from it? The plain fact was this.

When the rebels firſt formed their letters, for the accuſation of Mary by the teſtimony of her own writing; they would be ſure to form them, with the addition of her name at the end, as well as with the imitation of her hand in all. They accordingly drew up a little contract of marriage for her, exactly in this manner.† This indeed was the only manner, in which reaſon and propriety *could* induce them to draw up the letters. *A letter without a ſubſcription would be a perfect ſoleciſm in evidence.* It could therefore be never intended at firſt. Policy might afterwards drive them to it. But reaſon at firſt could never have led them. A monſter may be generated by a colliſion of accidents. But it is not the regular production of nature. And the letters were actually preſented to the privy council, with the cuſtomary appendage of ſubſcription to them. They were then "WRITTEN AND SUBSCRIBED "WITH HER OWN HAND." But when theſe artificers of fraud came to reflect ſtill more cloſely on the approach of parliament, and to prepare

* So "the clerk of regiſter," ſays a letter from Randolph to Cecil, Auguſt the 10th, 1560, "immediately ſtood "up, and aſked them to what matter they would proceed". (Robertſon, ii. 321).

† Appendix, No. xiv.

their letters for the ſtrict examination which they muſt expect from the friends of Mary there; they began to ſhrink, at the thoughts of what they had done. To ſubſtantiate the charge by letters under her own hand, they had neceſſarily annexed her own ſubſcription. But that letters containing intimations of adultery and of murder, ſhould be ſent with her ſubſcription to them, and yet without any guard of a ſeal upon them; exceeded all the bounds of credibility. They were ſtruck with the abſurdity. They dreaded a detection by it. They muſt alter it. But they could not ſupply the defect of the ſeal. And therefore they muſt retrench the ſubſcription. They accordingly went to work very buſily again. They had not many days for it. They did not diſcover their errour, till they had preſented their letters to the council on the 4th of December. The parliament was to meet on the 15th, and actually ſat only to the 29th.* But they were too expert in their buſineſs, not to be expeditious in it. They wrote over the letters anew. They thus formed a THIRD edition of them. They left out all the ſubſcriptions. And the writings, when they came to be exhibited in parliament, appeared no longer ſubſcribed by the hand of Mary, but merely "WRITTEN WHOLLY" by it.

The acts of council and of parliament confirm the facts in this hiſtory, beyond all poſſibility of doubt. That unſealed ſtate of the letters, into

* Sir Thomas Murray's Acts of Parliament, 191, and Goodall, ii. 237.

which

which the rebels were forced by neceſſity, accounts ſufficiently for them. And this adds one more to the inſtances which we have had already, of the ſuſpicious ſpirit of guilt in the rebels; of their jealous attention to all the circumſtances of their forgery; and of their ſucceſſive improvements upon their original draughts.

Nor was this difficult to be done. When "the "artickle" was "proponit be the erlis, lordis, "and uther nobill-men, quha tuik armis at Car-"barrie-hill, upon the 15th day of Junii laſt by-"paſt;" they themſelves would naturally be appointed a committee, to draw it up, and introduce it into the houſe. The committee accordingly conſiſted of the very men, who had ſo lately ſat in council on the letters. This is apparent from their drawing up the bill, juſt as the council had planned it, and even pretty nearly in the very words of the council. And they would of courſe be aſſiſted in the work by James Makgill, the clerk of the parliament, or, as he was popularly called, clerk of the regiſtry. James was deep in all the ſchemes of the party. He was a privy counſellor to Murray. He ſat in that very council before. And he was even one of the aſſiſtants to the commiſſioners, for the conferences at York and Weſtminſter; and even one of the few employed, in communicating the letters privately to the Engliſh commiſſioners at York.* With ſuch a clerk and ſuch a committee, what could be the difficulty? There would be little or

* Goodall, ii. 109, 140, 236, 237, 370, and 381.

none, even with another committee and another clerk. They had certainly a copy of the act of council before them. This was not wanted as an authority, but as a model. It might therefore be copied by any of the counſellors. And, ſo copied, we may be ſure it would be perfectly agreeable to the new deſign of the party. That act being thus modified into a bill in the committee, it and the letters would be preſented together to the whole houſe. On a hearing or an inſpection of both, the latter would be found to accord exactly with the former, in not being ſubſcribed by Mary, in being only written by her. None of the friends of Mary could know any thing of the variation. It was only in the knowledge of her enemies. Should any of *theſe* have been inclined to notice it, either in the committee or in the houſe; he could not have done it, without a total inattention to his own ſafety. He and they were all too intereſted in paſſing a law, which was to be their own acquittal for all their deeds of rebellion and uſurpation, to oppoſe it by any diſcovery, that might be fatal to it and to themſelves. And though there might be ſome men, not deſtitute of all honour, in the preceding council of Murray's; yet the powerful principle of ſelf-preſervation would operate with all the force of villainy itſelf, and ſeal up their lips for ever.

In this manner the act of council was tranſmuted into an act of parliament. In a few years all memory of the ſtriking variation between them, in the deſcription of the letters, was loſt. It was ſtill apparent indeed upon the books of the privy

privy council. But theſe were acceſſible to few. They were acceſſible to none but the rebels themſelves, while rebellion had its day. None were curious enough to examine them afterwards. A ſpirit of laborious inquiry is not a common talent in the world. It is peculiarly uncommon among thoſe, who are beſt able to rectify the judgments of their cotemporaries. And this full and pointed proof of the forgery of the letters, lay buried in duſt and darkneſs, and expoſed to a thouſand accidents, for nearly two hundred years afterward.*

* Mr. Goodall firſt noticed it, i. 43—44. And Mr. Tytler reinforced the notice in p. 7—12, Edit. 1ſt, and ſtill more ſtrongly in p. 7—13, Edit. 3d.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1.

I HAVE already pointed out three very extraordinary inſtances of variation, in the letters. The two firſt are moſt important. But the laſt is moſt ſtriking. Coming luckily between the exhibition in council and the production in parliament, and ſo preſenting itſelf in the light from each, we ſee it in the cleareſt point of view. And the moſt reſolved enemies of Mary have nothing to advance, in oppoſition to this glaring proof of forgery; except by *ſuppoſing what is contrary to fact*, or by *affirming what is repugnant to common-ſenſe*. All endeavours to darken what is ſo luminous, all attempts to muffle up this moon which ſhines with ſo ſtrong a luſtre, can only draw down a heavy charge of folly, upon the head of him that makes them.

But beſides this, and beſides the more important alteration which I have pointed out from Throgmorton before, when the whole maſs (as it were) was thrown back into the crucible, and melted down for a re-coinage; there are other inſtances of variation, which have never been noticed at all, and yet require the attention of the publick. I ſhall lay one of them before my reader at preſent.

When

When firſt the letters were formed, they would as naturally be DIRECTED as ſubſcribed. This common-ſenſe ſuggeſts to us. The firſt *impreſſion* of the letters, therefore, we may be very ſure to have had theſe *head and tail pieces* to them. Accordingly we find the rebels, upon all occaſions, repreſenting the letters in ſuch a manner, as if they were actually *directed*. The acts of council and of parliament, before, ſpeak of them as letters "SENT BE HIR TO JAMES ERLL BOITHWELL." So alſo, in Morton's and Murray's enumerations of all the written evidences againſt the Queen, theſe are ſaid expreſsly to have been "SEND AND "PAST betwixt the QUENE—and JAMES SUMTYME "ERLL BOTHVILE."* In the ſame manner, the commiſſioners at York notice them without any heſitation, as addreſſed to Bothwell. They call them "the Quene of Scottes lettres WRITTEN TO "BOTHAILL."† They intimate indeed a proper doubt at times, concerning the letters being in her handwriting. But they never inſinuate the ſlighteſt doubt, of their being addreſſed to Bothwell. Juſt ſo, the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter and the privy counſellors at Hampton Court, both, ſpeak of the letters as WRITTEN TO THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.‡ And Murray finally mentions, that he produced to them letters "written be the Quenis awin hand, and SENT "TO THE SAID JAMES SUMTIME ERLE OF BOTH-"VILLE."§

* Appendix, No. iv.
† Ibid. No. vi.
‡ Ibid. No. viii. and ix.
§ Ibid. No. xi.

But

But whence ariſes all this certainty of conviction? Not from any *internal* evidence. There is nothing in any of the letters, that denotes the Earl to be the object of the adulterous love. There is even ſomething in the *principal* of them, that denotes him *not* to be the object. He is there ſpoken of as a *third perſon*. "Remember "zow," it ſays to the real object, "of the pur- "pois of the Lady Reres, of the Ingliſmen, of "his mother, of the Erle of Argyle, of THE ERLE "OF BOTHWELL."* Here Bothwell is mentioned as equally a third perſon with Argyle, and as equally a different one from the perſon addreſſed. Yet the rebels and the commiſſioners, we ſee, are ſure they were addreſſed to Bothwell. And this aſſurance of faith in them muſt therefore have reſulted originally, from *external* evidence concerning the point, from the actual ſuperſcription of the letters to Bothwell.

Yet they appear at preſent, without any ſuperſcription at all. They are no more directed to any one, than they are ſubſcribed by any one. Nor have they loſt their directions, any more than they have loſt their ſubſcriptions, by accident, by the inaccuracy of a blundering clerk, or by the bias of a mechanical influence on the mind. They were un-directed at their production before the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter. This is plain from a cotemporary writer. The biſhop of Roſs, in a memorial which he preſented to Elizabeth herſelf, and which he preſented as

* L. i. S. xxxvi.

early

early as the 17th of December 1568, only nine days after the production of the letters, ſays thus of them: "They are not ſubſcrivit be the alledgit "writer theirof, nor ſeillit, nor ſignetit,—nor zit "DIRECT TO NA MAN."*

They were therefore moſt extraordinary letters to be exhibited in evidence. They were to ground a charge againſt *Mary*, of murderous confederacy with *Bothwell*. Yet they were not *ſubſcribed* by Mary. And they were not *ſuperſcribed* to Bothwell. But they were both ſuperſcribed and ſubſcribed originally, as I have already ſhewn. Only the ſame principle of cautious villainy in the rebels, that annihilated their own prior creation ſo deciſively, that mangled their poſteriour one ſo much as we have ſeen, and that peculiarly lopped away the ſubſcriptions, equally applied its retrenching hand to the directions, and tore them wholly away. Letters UNSEALED, and yet (as the commiſſioners at York very properly ſay) "conteyning foule matteir, "and abominable to be thought of or to be writ-"ten by a prince,"† could not be ſuppoſed by any but the determined enemies of Mary, to be either ſigned openly by *her*, or to be addreſſed openly to *him*. The ſimplicity of faith in a fool would revolt equally at either. And the addreſs to Bothwell was accordingly withdrawn, with the ſignature of Mary.

But then how came the letters to be ſpoken of afterwards, as if they were ſtill directed to Both-

* Appendix, No. xii. † Ibid. No. v.

well?

well? From three cauſes. One relates to the Scotch parliament. Another points to the Engliſh commiſſioners. And the third mounts up to Murray himſelf.

The letters are never ſpoken of, either before or after the Scotch parliament, as actually directed to Bothwell. They are only ſaid to be *ſent* him. This indeed, in all common conſtruction of language concerning *letters*, implies them to have been addreſſed, as well as diſpatched, to him. Yet, as it is one of thoſe words in every language, which in ordinary uſage paſs current for more than their proper ſignification; the rebels had no need to alter their expreſſions concerning this, as they had concerning the ſubſcriptions. The act of council had aſſerted them to be *ſent* to Earl Bothwell, when they had directions upon them. The act of parliament aſſerted them equally to be *ſent* him, when the directions were taken away. It might properly do ſo. Though *not* directed, they *might* be ſent to him. And whether they were ſent or not, was a point which the partiſans of Mary might have required to be proved, before they ſuffered the letters to be ſanctioned for hers by a law.

But they were precluded from doing this, by the terrours that were artfully hung over their heads. They were precluded from taking a ſingle ſtep of this kind, from aſking a ſingle queſtion, or from ſtarting a ſingle doubt, by the accurſed combination that was formed among the rebels, to murder Mary in a moſt cruel manner, if any oppoſition was made by her friends to the law. Nor was this

his a mere menace. Some of their own party, vho were beſt capable of judging, conſidered he combination in ſo ſerious a light, and were o apprehenſive of the conſequences of it, that hey would not enter into it. "Sindrie of the 'nobil-men partakeris with thameſelfis," ſay Mary's lords, "refuſit to ſubſcryve the ſamin, 'or *conſent to hir deid* [death] *in ony wayis*" * Murray was too determined in his aims, and too ſavage in his ſpirit, not to have ſet the confederacy at work upon their object, if he had been defeated in his deſigns for the law. Mary's friends thought him ſo, and trembled for their Queen. Some of his own aſſociates equally thought him ſo, and trembled leſt he ſhould involve them in the guilt of her murder.

Yet Murray muſt have intended, rather to menace than to murder. Even a Murray would not attempt a murder, if a menace would anſwer his purpoſe as well. His great intent was to terrify. To terrify Mary into a reſignation of the crown, was the point to which all his meaſures ultimately tended. This was the grand ſcope of the preſent law. And to terrify her adherents in the houſe from being troubleſome in it, from ſcrutinizing his proceedings with an inquiſitive eye, from examining the *letters* particularly, from noticing the want of ſubſcriptions, and from inſiſting on the want of directions, to them; he attacked them in their tendereſt part, not by threatening *their* lives, not by banding to mur-

* Goodall, ii. 360

der

der *them*, but by threatening the life of their ſovereign, and by banding to murder Mary. Such an inſtrument of terrour as this, which was calculated only for the generous and the brave, was fabricated merely for the preſent emergency. It acted therefore with the greater force upon the friends of Mary. The fate of their miſtreſs hung ſuſpended on their actions and words. The blood-hounds of rebellion were "in their ſlips, ſtraining upon the ſtart," and ready to ſpring upon their prey. And thoſe worthies were compelled by their very worth, their very bravery and generoſity, to act with the niceſt caution, and to let the law paſs un-ſcrutinized and un-expoſed.*

Such a violent mode of paſſing the law, however, muſt have convinced them at the time, as it muſt equally convince my reader now, in the fulleſt and moſt effectual manner; that letters, which were to be ſo carried through the houſe, muſt have been undoubtedly ſpurious, muſt have been clumſily fabricated, and might have been

* Yet Dr. Robertſon was ſo little apprized of theſe circumſtances, or ſo little attentive to their *momentum* and force, as to urge the paſſing of this law for a real argument of guilt in Mary (Diſſ. 22). He muſt either have thought a pop-gun would be artillery ſufficient, to decide theſe long conteſts concerning Mary againſt her;

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui jactu compreſſa quieſcant:

or, in great diſtreſs for arguments, he picked up all that he could find;

——————certamine agreſti
Stipitibus duris agitur ſudibuſve præuſtis.

eaſily detected. But they were convinced of their ſpuriouſneſs by their appearance. "Hir "Majeſtie's writing producit in parliament," they ſay, could be no proof of murder againſt her, "albeit it *were* her awin hand-writ, AS IT "IS NOT; and als the famin IS DEVYSIT BY "THAMESELFIS."* Yet they were obliged to acquieſce in a merely negative oppoſition to all. They merely "tuik inſtruments and proteſtatiounis,— "that thay *conſentit* to na hurt of the Quenis Ma- "jeſtie's perſoun, eſtait royall, nor crown, *fordar* "*nor her Hienes wald frielie appreif herſelf, being at* "*libertie:* nor yet *wald voit* in *onie* thing *concern-* "*ing her Grace's honor nor lyfe.*"† So much was due to their own probity! But more would have been dangerous to their Queen's life.

We cannot wonder then, that Mary's adherents did not call for a proof of the letters being *ſent* to Bothwell, as they were not directed to him. Thoſe adherents called for no proof of their being written by Mary, though they were not ſubſcribed by her. They called for no proof of any thing concerning them. The bloody comet, that glared continually before their eyes, prevented all inquiry. The letters and the law paſſed without particular contradiction through the houſe. And they would equally have paſſed in ſuch circumſtances, we may be ſure, if the letters had been charged with abſurdity, and loaded with forgery, in every atom of their compoſition.

* Goodall, ii. 361. † Ibid. 169.

But when the letters come to be canvaſſed in England, then the want of a direction to Bothwell will be ſupplied, by a proof of their actual conveyance to him. England is a region, in which Murray's comet can have no effect upon the ſpirits of the judges. Nor has it. *Yet the want is not ſupplied.* None of the perſons that carried the letters, appeared to prove the conveyance of them. None were produced by Murray. None were called for by the Engliſh commiſſioners. Thus was no courſe of tranſmiſſion ſhewed. The defect of a direction, particularly, was left totally un-cured. Murray could not cure or ſhew either. Nor could the commiſſioners call for either. The letters were not exhibited to them as commiſſioners. They were ſhewn to them only as private gentlemen. This reaſon, however, was no longer in force, when the letters were exhibited again at Weſtminſter. Some witneſſes therefore will be brought up *now*, to fill this grand chaſm of evidence, and to ſhew us at leaſt the *verbal* directions of one or more of the letters. *But they are not.* "There is neither ſubſcription of the writer," ſays Biſhop Leſley at the end of the Weſtminſter conference, "nor *ſuperſcription unto whom they were directed:*— "there is no mention [it ſhould be, *no proof*] "made *of the Bearer*, who is, as it may be ſup- "poſed,—the man in the moone: he was never "yet known or heard of [judicially], that *did* "*either receave or deliver them.*"* And no ac-

* Appendix, No. xii.

count

count was ever given, why the letters are ſuppoſed to have been for Bothwell. They carry no directions to him. They have no conveyance to him, proved or attempted to be proved. Yet they are believed by the privy counſellors at Hampton Court, they are believed by the commiſſioners at York, they are believed by the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, and they are believed by Murray and by every body, to be addreſſed to him. How is this? Here is faith without reaſon, an implicit faith without a grain of reaſon. And whence ariſes it all?

It all ariſes from Murray. He gave the firſt movement to this circle of belief, which we have ſeen gradually widening and widening, till it ſpread over the iſland. He firſt believed, and he taught others to believe. But whence did *he* derive his faith? He could derive it only from one ſource. *He knew the original letters.* He knew them to be addreſſed to Bothwell. He knew them to be directed to him. And, though he found himſelf compelled by the neceſſities of policy, to deprive them of their directions; though he could find nothing in the contents, that would point out the perſon addreſſed; yet he had the courage to think of ſupplying all, by the mere bravery of aſſurance; and he had the good fortune to have his word taken, his aſſertion circulated, and his faith adopted, without a knowledge of his reaſons, by all.

§ 11.

SO plain a proof of forgery have we here, in this ſlight circumſtance. Not addreſſed externally to Bothwell, not addreſſed internally to him, the letters were yet *known* by Murray to be intended for him. And the ſame kind of intuitive knowledge is obſervable in another circumſtance, in the DATES of the letters.

Not one of the letters has a date of the year upon it. Not one of them has a date of the month. Only one has the date of the day and place. This is the ſecond. It carries theſe words at the bottom of it: "From Glaſgow this Setter-"day in the morning."* This is all the internal evidence that we have, concerning the times and the places, at which theſe remarkable letters pretended to be written. And the very omiſſion of theſe natural and continual adjuncts of a letter, throws a ſtrong colouring of ſuſpectability over the whole. But, though *we* know no more than this, *Murray* knew a great deal more. He could tell exactly, *when* each of the letters was compoſed by Mary. He could point out with a ready finger, *where* each of them was diſpatched to Bothwell. How ſhall we account for this high degree of knowledge? It is certainly wonderful. It has even ſomething ſupernatural in its appearance. But *was* he poſſeſſed of any portion of that ſecond-ſight, which is ſo peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland? Had he the hap-

* See it in vol. 2d.

pineſs

pineſs to ſee THE SUN OF DRUIDISM, ſhining out in a bright gleam of viſion from the tops of the northern mountains, when it had been long ſet to the reſt of the iſland? Or, in that more popular mythology, to which Murray and his brothers of preſbyterianiſm muſt have been peculiarly attached, has he gone on ſo far in profligacy, as to be admitted into a compact of blood with the ſpirits of the deep; to have ſome of them attending conſtantly upon him for his allotted hour, and to receive intelligence of the greateſt ſecrets from them? He *may* have gone on in flagitiouſneſs long enough, I fear, to be qualified for admiſſion into ſuch a compact. But he had no ſervice for his *familiars* now. He *may* have been bleſſed with that only bleſſing of the poor Highlanders at preſent, the gift of ſecond-ſight. But he made no uſe of it concerning the letters. His knowledge with regard to *them*, was all natural.

When firſt the artificer of forgery began to exerciſe his pen in the invention of the letters, he would as certainly DATE them, as direct and ſubſcribe them. He had even a journal drawn up for the very purpoſe of dating them. This was to fix the time, and to aſcertain the place, for each of the letters reſpectively. And the artiſt appears to have actually annexed the requiſite notes of both, from it. This journal was preſented by Murray to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, when he preſented the letters. It was the ſcale, by which theſe were graduated. Yet no mention is made of it as delivered in by the

rebels, either by themſelves or by the commiſſioners. It was plainly preſented, however. It was found among the other papers in the Cotton library, and had been marked by the hand of Cecil himſelf.*

In this uſeful key of chronology to the letters, which has been ſince enlarged to refer back to thoſe letters that it was originally created to form, Murray tells us; that the *firſt* was written from Glaſgow, as well as the ſecond; that the *third* and *fourth* were equally written from thence, with both; and that they were all written on the 24th, 25th, or 26th of January 1567. This is certainly very extraordinary intelligence. But let us ſee the journal itſelf. It ſpeaks thus. "January "21, 1566," 1566-7. "The Quene tuik hir "journay towards Glaſcow, and was accompa-"nyit with the Erlis of Huntly and Bothwell to "the Kalendar, my Lord Leviſtoun's place. 23. "The Quene came to Glaſcow, and on the rode "met hir Thomas Crauford from the Erle of "Lennux, and Sir James Hamilton, with the "reſt mentionit IN HIR LETTER.—24. The "Quene remaynit at Glaſcow, lyck as ſhe did "the 25th and the 26th, and hayd the confer-"ence with the King WHEREOF SHE WRYTTIS; "and IN THIS TYME wrayt hir BYLLE," the firſt letter, "and UTHER LETTERIS to Bothwell."† Here we have every circumſtance concerning the four firſt letters, detailed to us with the greateſt exactneſs. *The very writer of the letters*

* Appendix, No. x. † Ibid. ibid.

could

could not have known the hiſtory of them, more completely. But the apparent *infallibility* of our guide does not deſert him here. He can tell us with an equal minuteneſs of aſſurance, concerning the four other letters. He is even *more* particular. He now tells us the very day of the week. "April 21. viz. Mounday," he ſays, "the Quene "raid to STIRLING, as it wes devyſit, and FROM "THENCE WREYT THE LETTERIS concerning the "purpoſe devyſit of hir raviſhing; quhair Huntly "cam to hir, and began to repent him.—April "23. She came to Linlythquow—."* This is alſo very particular. And indeed the whole reflects ſuch an extraordinary luſtre upon the letters, that a reader is aſtoniſhed at the firſt view with the broad glare of light around him; and cannot immediately recollect his ſcattered ſenſes, to conſider the artificial nature of it.

Murray was concerned in the fabrication of the letters. He might well therefore know ſo preciſely as he does, all the circumſtances relating to them. But the dates he knew to be upon the very letters themſelves. The journal plainly refers to thoſe dates by its manner. It does not ſay, that Mary wrote the *four firſt* letters from Glaſgow; as we are obliged to ſay for the ſake of diſtinction. *We* fix the number, from a view of their contents. But the journal refers only to their dates. It therefore ſays, that "in this "tyme [ſhe] wrayt hir bylle," meaning her firſt letter, and alluding to her own appellation of it

* Appendix, No. x.

in the very letter itſelf, " and [hir] uther letteris " to Bothwell," not recounting them, but remitting the reader to their dates. And the letters ſtill preſerved thoſe dates, to the conference at York. This is *plainly* true concerning *one* of them, and muſt therefore be true concerning *all*. The firſt letter is peculiarly noticed by the commiſſioners there, as indeed it deſerved to be. This has *now* not a ſingle trace of a date upon it. Nor had it any at Weſtminſter, as is clear from a ſlight intimation concerning it from the commiſſioners there. " Thomas Crawford," they notice, " was, as they," the rebels, " ſaid, the " ſame party of whom mention is made in a long " lettre—, where it is ſaid, about the beginning " of the ſame lettre, that a gentleman of the " Earl of Lenox met *the party that wrote the let-* " *tre*," the Queen being ſo mentioned, becauſe there was no ſubſcription to it, " about four " miles from the *place where the lettre was wryt-* " *ten*," the place being ſo denoted, becauſe there was no local date to the letter, " as in the copie " of the ſame lettre may appere."* Yet the journal above aſſerts it expreſsly to be written from GLASGOW. And from GLASGOW the commiſſioners at York equally aſſert it to be written. " Imprimis," they ſay in their extracts from it, " after lang diſcourſe of hir conference with the " king hir huſband in GLASCOW, ſche wreitis to " the ſaid Erle in thir [theſe] termes,"† &c. But in what they call " a brief note of the chief and

* Goodall, ii. 246. † No. vii.

" principall

" principall poincts of the Quene of Scottes lettres " written to Bothaill—, as farre forthe as we " coulde BY THE READINGE gather,"* they ſay thus: " She toke her journey from Edenburghe " to GLASCO, to viſit," &c. Then " ſhe wrote " to Bothaill from GLASCO, how ſhe flattered," &c.† They then form a large abſtract of, and make large extracts from, the very *firſt* letter. And they plainly appear from the eaſy manner in which they mention the place, as well as from their own aſſertion concerning the reading, to have collected the date from the letter itſelf.

In this ſtate then, the letters remained to the conference at York, ALL DATED, half from Glaſgow, half from Stirling, the former on the 24—26th of January 1567, and the latter on the 21ſt—22d of April following. But they were all, except one, ſtript of this garniture before the conference at Weſtminſter. This is clear from a cotemporary memorial, which was written without any inſpection of the letters, but was founded on good intelligence concerning them, and was even preſented to Elizabeth herſelf on the 17th of December 1568. " They are not," ſays the author, " ſubſcrivit be the alledgit writer thairof, " nor ſeilit nor ſignetit, and [except one] CON-" TAIN NA DAIT OF ZEIR, MONETH, OR DAY, nor " zit direct to na man."‡ This is alſo plain from

* Appendix, No. vi. † Ibid. ibid.

‡ Appendix, No. xii. This remarkable memorial appears again in an abſtract, which Cecil made of it at the time, and the title of which is, " extracted out of a writing given " to

from the cotemporary memoirs of Crawford, which notice the rebels to have produced at Weſtminſter, "ſome articles merely conjectural, de-"crees made in a tumultuous aſſembly of the "eſtates, and ſome love-letters—without men-"tioning TIME or PLACE."* It is equally plain from the annals of the cotemporary Camden, in which he tells us, that "the letters—wanted "NAMES, SUBSCRIPTIONS, and DATES" to them.† They thus became at laſt the moſt monſtrous letters, that ever the credulity or the knavery of man obtruded upon the world for evidence. And thus the letters, in the months of October and November, 1568, underwent another important alteration; and appeared in a FOURTH EDITION, corrected and abbreviated, on the 8th of December following.

When the rebels originally formed their letters and their journal, they had a good deal of paſt time to re-trace on their memories. By their own account, the letters were not in their hands

"to the Queen's majeſty, by the biſhop of Roſs, 18 De-"cember, 1568." That part of the abſtract, which relates to this often-cited paſſage, runs exactly in theſe terms: "Her hand, nor ſeal, nor date is to the letters, nor no di-"rection is to any" (Burleigh's Papers, 581, Guthry's H. of E. iii. 318). The Biſhop alſo has repeated all again, in his Defence of Queen Marie's Honour. "There is neither "ſubſcription of the writer," he ſays, "nor ſuperſcription "unto whom they were directed: they are neither ſealed "nor ſigned; there appeareth neither date, wherein they "were dated, neither day nor moneth" (P. 18—19, Anderſon 1).

* P. 114. † Tranſ. 117, Orig. 145.

before

:fore the 20th of June, and in reality were not efore the 4th of December, 1567. Yet theſe ɔ back in their dates, as we have already ſeen, › the April and the January preceding. The ›urnal even goes back to the very June before .l. * Nor was any part of it kept at the time. 'his is apparent from the early mention of the let-:rs in it. It is alſo apparent from two ſtrokes in the ınguage of it. The ſon of Mary was not crowned :ing, and the Earl of Murray was not made egent, as it witneſſes itſelf, before July 29, nd Aug. 22, 1567. † Yet ſo long as April ıe 9th and March the 10th before, and even ſo ›ng as the 19th of June in the year preceding, 'om the mere force of habit, and by an unper-eived anticipation of the language then current t the writing, the one is denominated King and ıe other Regent. The very firſt article of he whole informs us, that "June 19. KING ' JAMES THE SIXT was born." Two other ar-icles tell us, that "March 10.—at this tyme ' my Lord REGENT purchaiſt leif to depart;" ‡ nd "April 9. my Lord REGENT departit furth ' of Scotland."§ So plainly was the journal drawn ɔp from end to end, by a recollection of dates and acts. So plainly alſo were the letters, that are nentioned in and were dated by it, not written till ames was crowned and Murray became regent; ill the one had been king, and the other regent, ɔr ſome time; and till the conſtructor of the ɔurnal, and the dater of the letters, was imper-

* Appendix, No. x.
† Ibid. ibid.
‡ Ibid. ibid.
§ Ibid. ibid.

ceptibly

ceptibly led by the eſtabliſhed habits of converſation, to call them king and regent ſome months before they were. And ſo clearly is the origin, which I have aſſigned to the letters from a long train of hiſtorical evidences before, here ſhewn at once by three accidental daſhes, in the very language of the rebel journal. The journal and the letters were both drawn up together, in the end of November and beginning of December, 1567, and three or four months after James was crowned and Murray was made regent.

The journal was naturally, at firſt, a mere outline of facts and dates. But it was afterwards filled up, with large references to the letters. This however was not done, *till the conferences in England.* The language of the journal again proves the point, and in two additional ſtrokes of its narration. On the 12th of February, 1567, it ſays, "Harry Killigrew arryvit from "*the Quene's Majeſtie.*" On the 15th of May, 1568, it adds, "Maiſter Middlemoir, ſent "from *the Quene's Majeſtie*, cauſit my lord from "thencefurth abſteyn from armour and vio-"lence." Here *Elizabeth*, we ſee, is ſpoken of ſimply as "the Quene's Majeſtie," without any addition to reſtrict the title to England, and without any ſpecification to diſtinguiſh her from the Queen of Scotland. And, as this eaſy and familiar mode of expreſſion could never have been uſed in *Scotland*; ſo does the purely Engliſh quality of it, prove the journal to have been finally interpolated and extended in *England*. The rebels

rebels formed it at firſt for their private uſe, in fabricating the letters, and in modelling their other forgeries. It was to be their grand time-keeper, in realizing all the freaks of forgery, which they actually carried into execution, and all that they had probably pictured upon their imagination beſides,

[All the ten thouſand freaks that died in thinking.]

And they enlarged it at the beginning, they extended it at the end, and they interpolated it in the middle; for the exhibition of it to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, for the fortifying of the letters by it, and for the proſecution of the abuſive work in the letters againſt Mary.

But, from this late formation of it at firſt, the rebels might well become, as they clearly did, apprehenſive that the dates in it were erroneous, after the conference at York. A violent claſh with chronology, would expoſe them to the moſt imminent danger of detection. On their publick production of the letters at Weſtminſter, the memories of many would be ranſacked, notes would be conſulted, and records might be appealed to, to ſee whether the dates would not lead to a detection. They could no longer terrify, as they had done in Scotland. Their confidence in Elizabeth indeed was great. But anachroniſms would be too vulnerable a part, to be left in any ſtate of expoſure. Yet what could they do? They could not rectify the dates with a *certain* hand, probably. They only ſuſpected them to be falſe. But, at their diſtance from Scotland, they could not determine abſolutely,

abſolutely, what were falſe or what were true. They had only one reſource, therefore. This they made uſe of. THEY TORE OFF ALL THE DATES AT ONCE, except one. With *this* they left no note of the year or of the month. And in that new ſtate they preſented them, to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter.

But why did they leave a date to the ſecond letter, when they took it away from the reſt? For this reaſon, I believe. The original date of the ſecond was accidentally what it now is, vague and looſe; without any note of the month or year, without any intimation of the day of the month, and with only a mention of the day of the week, the time of the day, and the name of the place. Such a date was ſo indeterminate, that no miſchief would be apprehended from it. It was therefore left. The harmleſs generality of it gained it a continuance, when the particularity of the others made them too dangerous to be kept.

But ſuch is the ever-hazardous nature of guilt, that the rebels betrayed their forgery in every ſtep which they took to hide it. They put dates to their letters at firſt, in order to authenticate them. They were obliged to ſnatch them haſtily away afterwards, in order to prevent a detection. They thus made a detection, by the very variation which they occaſioned in the form of the letters. And, what ſhews the great difficulty of giving a firm conſiſtency to falſehood, they could after all mention exactly the times and the places, at which each of the letters had been

been written; and ſo detected themſelves again, by the impoſſibility of coming to the knowledge of ſuch circumſtances, in an honeſt manner. *

§ III.

I HAVE now gone through a variety of alterations, which were made from time to time in the form and ſubſtance of the evidences againſt Mary. But I can add one more to the liſt, which is even more apparent than they, and perhaps more important too. And it is this. Thoſe evidences were not merely varying in their ſubſtance or form. They were alſo changing in

* The reader, who is acquainted with the controverſy already carried on upon the ſubject of theſe letters, will readily ſee, that I have carefully refrained from the grand point, which has been canvaſſed ſo much by Mr. Goodall, i. 118—124, Mr. Hume, v. 148—149, and Dr. Robertſon, Diſſ. 35—40, concerning the date of the ſecond letter being in direct contradiction to dates authenticated by records. I muſt be candid enough to acknowledge, that I once intended to enter fully into it, though it was not eſſential to my argument; that I coincided entirely with Mr. Goodall againſt Mr. Hume; and that I hoped, with the uſeful ſanguineneſs of a meditating author, to have confirmed the argument of the former for ever. I had not then read Dr. Robertſon's Diſſertation. But, on reading it, I was ſurpriſed, I was ſtaggered, I was converted. It ſeems very ſtrange indeed, that records ſigned every day, or every other day, ſucceſſively for weeks together, ſhould yet carry *anticipated* dates upon them; and that even the *place* ſhould be anticipated as well as the day. Yet ſo it is. Dr. Robertſon has ſhewn it to be ſo. And I think myſelf compelled by the laws of honour, to pay this acknowledgment of juſtice, not ſilently but openly, in favour of a diſſertation, which I am obliged in almoſt every other reſpect to reprobate.

their

their very NUMBER. This is indeed an amazing circumſtance. Yet it is a very clear one.

The writings are reported by the rebels themſelves, to have been all found together, at one time, and in one place. Thus, in the journal which we have noticed ſo particularly before, it is ſaid: 1567. "June 20. Dalgleiſhe, chalmer-"child [chamberlain] to my Lord Bothwell, wes "takin, and the box and letteris which he "brought out of the caſtell." * And in Murray's and Morton's receipts, the 16th of September, 1568, and the 22d of January, 1571, it is ſaid that this "box, and haill pecis within the "ſamyn, were takin and fund with umquhile "George Dalgleiſche, ſervand to the ſaid Erll "Bothvile, upon the xx. day of Junii, the zeir "of God 1567 zeirs." † This was Pandora's box to Mary, pregnant with all the evils of life to her. But then the very nature of ſuch a diſcovery, precludes all poſſibility of addition to the evidence. It muſt have been in its fulleſt magnitude, at the very moment of the diſcovery. And it could not have been one atom larger, at the final production of the whole in Weſtminſter.

Yet it did enlarge. The LETTERS were all, that the rebels pretended to have at firſt againſt her. The act of council mentions only "HIR "PREVIE LETTRES," as the argument for the charge of murder againſt her. The act of parliament equally notices only "HIR PREVIE LET-"TERIS," as the groundwork for the ſentence of

* Appendix, No. x. † Ibid. No. iv.

murder

murder againſt her. Nothing elſe but the letters was produced, before either the parliament or the council. And Mary's nobles expreſsly aſſert what was preſented to the former, to have been merely the "alledgit PRIVIE WRITINGIS."* So alſo, when Murray on the 22d of June 1568 delivered ſome notices to an agent of Elizabeth's, in order to be reported to Elizabeth herſelf; he ſaid thus: "We have already ſent unto our ſer-"vand Mr. Jhone Wode, that quhilk we traiſt "ſall ſufficientlie reſolve hir Majeſtie of any thing, "ſcho ſtandis doubtful unto." But what was this? He tells us himſelf. It was "ſic LET-"TERIS as we haif of the Quene, our ſoverane "lordis mother, that ſufficientlie, in our opinioun, "preivis hir conſenting to the murthure of the "king hir lauchful huſband."† He has *yet* nothing more than the letters, to produce againſt her. And accordingly the journal itſelf ſpeaks only of "the box and LETTERS," as taken on the 20th of June 1567. So far therefore, as late as the end of the journal, which is May 15, 1568; and even ſtill later, below the 22d of June following; the whole evidence againſt Mary, by the confeſſion of the rebels themſelves, was compriſed ſingly in the letters. FOR ONE WHOLE YEAR they pretended not to find any thing in the box, except letters. Yet, with an aſtoniſhing hardineſs of front, they afterwards altered their

* Goodall, ii. 361. † Appendix, No. iii.

tone. They pretended to find freſh evidences there. Theſe had lain all the time unperceived. The approaching conference in England made them ſearch the box again. And they now drew forth ſome valuable additions to their former papers.

They thus found for the firſt time thoſe SONNETS, which my preface has announced ſo long ago, and which my reader, I ſuppoſe, has been ſo frequently expecting to appear ſince. Theſe now appeared at laſt. The 16th of September 1568 is the day of their exhibition to us, nearly FIFTEEN MONTHS after the firſt diſcovery of the box. *Then* the rebels could remember thoſe circumſtances relative to the diſcovery of the box, which they had forgotten before the privy council and parliament the December preceding. They could even remember ſtill more of them above three years afterward, and when the Engliſh edition of the Detection was publiſhed in November 1771. Thus the ſun of memory ſhone brighteſt, as it was declining moſt from its meridian. In the ſame manner the ſonnets were diſcovered, fifteen months after the diſcovery of the box. They are *then* mentioned, as a part of its original contents. They are *then* delivered up by the Earl of Morton, who was the pretended ſeizer of the box, to the Earl of Murray, who was preparing for the conference at York. And they are thus mentioned in the receipt, which the latter with a ſolemn hypocriſy gave to the former, in acknowledgment of this important depoſit. He had received, he ſays, "ane ſilver box ower-

"gilt

" gilt [overgilt] with gold, with all miſſive let-
" teris,—SONETTIS or LUIF-BALLETTIS,—con-
" tenit thairin."* The ſonnets were accordingly produced at York. They are thus mentioned by the commiſſioners there. Murray, they ſay, produced ſome letters with " diverſe fond " BALLADES of hir," Mary's, " own hand, which " letters, BALLADES,— weare cloſed in a little " coffer of ſilver and gilte, heretofore geaven by " her to Bothwell."† They were re-produced afterwards with the letters at Weſtminſter, and placed in order before them, though they have been generally printed after them ſince. " The " tenors of all which writings," ſays the journal of the commiſſioners concerning them and the letters, " hereafter follow in order, THE FIRST " BEING IN MANNER OF A SONNET."‡ And they were finally produced with the letters before the privy council, a few days afterwards; being noticed in the journal of the council, as " letters " ſuppoſed to be written by the Quene of Scots " own hand to the Erle Bothwell, and therwith " alſo ONE LONG SONNET."§

This was certainly a grand addition to the original ſtock of evidence. Fabricated in the month of September 1568, the ſonnets were plainly calculated to co-operate with the letters, in impreſſing more and more ſtrongly upon the minds of the Engliſh commiſſioners, the idea of Mary's violence of affection for Bothwell. The rebels

* Appendix, No. iv. † Ibid. No. v.
‡ Ibid. No. viii. § Ibid. No. viii.

accordingly produced them at Weſtminſter, expreſsly with the view of ſhewing, in concert with the letters, "her INORDINATE LOVE towards the "ſaid Erle Bothwell."* And this end of their creation they appear to have anſwered completely. The commiſſioners at York particularly, who not only relate the facts, but alſo expreſs their feelings upon them, appear to have been ſtruck with the groſs affection, ſo openly diſplayed upon the letters and ballads. This they expreſs in ſtrong terms. And "the ſaid letters and ballades," they obſerve, "do diſcover ſuch inordinate love "between her and Bothwell, her lothſomeneſs "[loathing] and abhorringe of her huſband that "was murdered, in ſuch ſorte, as everie good and "godlie man can not but deteſt and abhorre the "ſame."†

Nor were the ſonnets *all* the additions, that were *then* made to the original evidence. Men, who have it in their power to recur to forgeries for aſſiſtance at every turn, will be ſure to recur to them in any preſſing moment of diſtreſs. They have an ample fund of reſources in themſelves. They have a treaſure that can never be exhauſted. And they will be apt to draw upon it with the greateſt freedom. Accordingly, at the ſame diſtance of fifteen months from the firſt ſeizure of the box and letters, and at the ſame period of time with the firſt diſcovery of the ſonnets, the rebels found ſome other papers, lying equally unnoticed at the bottom of this little coffer. Theſe

* Appendix, No. viii. † Ibid. No. v.

make

make their firſt appearance with the ſonnets, on the 16th of September 1568. They thus came equally opportune with them for the conference at York, which began the 4th of October following. Murray appears arming himſelf for the battle there. And, among other his habiliments of war, we find him furniſhed with the letters, with the ſonnets, and with ſome MARRIAGE-CONTRACTS. Theſe were matrimonial agreements betwixt Mary and Bothwell. One of them is very ſhort. But, like the letters, it pretends to be written wholly with her own hand. And, as the letters too did once, it pretends to be alſo ſubſcribed by her. In it, Mary promiſes to take Bothwell for her huſband. The other is long. It is a reciprocal engagement. It is therefore ſigned by both, "and before thir [theſe] wit-"neſſes, George Erle of Huntly, and Maiſter "Thomas Hepburne, perſoun of Aulhamſtock, "&c."* And the rebels averred afterwards, that Huntly was the *writer* of the contract, as well as a witneſs to it.† Both theſe now made their appearance FOR THE FIRST TIME. Never noticed in the act of council, never noticed in the act of parliament, they are equally unnoticed by Murray, in his addreſs to Elizabeth through her agent. They are firſt mentioned in Murray's receipt for the box and its contents, when he was preparing to ſet off for York. He then acknowledges to have "all miſſive letteris, CONTRACTIS "OR OBLIGATIOUNIS FOR MARIAGE, ſonettis

* Appendix, No. xiv. † Goodall, ii. 92.

" or luif-ballettis,—contenit thairin."* Theſe contracts were ſhewed to the commiſſioners at York, accordingly. They notice both. " There " was a contract ſhewed unto us," they ſay, " ſigned with the Quene's hand, and alſo with " Bothwell's, bearing date the 5th of Aprill, writ- " ten, as it is ſaid, with the Earl of Huntley's " own hand, who, with one Thomas Hebourne, " weare the only witneſſes to the ſame: which " contract beareth date before Bothwell's purga- " tion of the murder." " There was alſo," they add, " a contract ſhewed unto us, of the Quene's " own hand, of the marriage to be had between " her and Bothwell, bearing no date."† They were equally produced again at Weſtminſter. There the commiſſioners ſay, that they received from the rebels " certain lettres and ſonnets,— " and *other wrytings* alſo."‡ Two of theſe " other writings" we know to have been the contracts; becauſe, among the papers laid afterwards before the privy council, was " a promiſe " of marriage in the name of the ſaid Quene with " the Erle Bothwell," and alſo " the original " writing, ſuppoſed to be written by the Erle of " Huntley, being a contract of marriage betwixt " the Quene and the Erle Bothwell, dated at " Seaton the 5th of Aprill, and ſubſcribed by the " Quene and the Erle Bothwell."§ And we equally know both to have been preſented, from Murray's own account of his conduct on that occaſion. " We producit," he ſays,—" letteris,

* Appendix, No. iv.
† Ibid. No. v.
‡ Ibid. No. viii.
§ Ibid. No. ix.

" —written

" — written be the Quenis awin hand, and ſent " to—James ſumtime Erle of Bothville; Item, " a little contract or obligatioun, written be the " ſaid Quenis awin hand, promiſing to marry the " ſaid Bothville; Item, an uther contract, writ- " ten by the Erle of Huntlie's hand, of the date " the v. of Aprill 1567."*

Thus were the contracts framed, together with the ſonnets, and long after the letters. They were " twinned at one birth" with the former. They were born for one purpoſe with both. They were to co-operate with both, in carrying on the intimacies of adultery to the higheſt pitch. They were to ripen them into formal engagements of marriage. And they were thus to hold out the ſurmiſed murder to us, as at once the effect of the adultery, and the cauſe of the contracts. But they were both founded on a real engagement. This was well known. It was a very publick one. It was ſubſcribed by Mary and Bothwell, in the preſence of many of her nobles. It was then regiſtered in the books of council and of ſeſſion. And the original is ſtill preſerved in the royal archives of Scotland. This is dated the 14th of May 1567.† *Then* Mary had been ſeized by Bothwell, carried to his caſtle of Dunbar, and even RAVISHED by him there. In this ſituation, ſhe might well enter into a matrimonial engagement with him. Marriage then ſeemed the only refuge for her honour. Yet, *for that very reaſon*, the rebels formed two others, the principal and

* Appendix, No. xi. † Ibid. No. xiv.

the dated one of an *earlier* period; and made George Earl of Huntly, who was one of the witneſſes to the former, a witneſs to, and the very writer of, the preſent. But the counterfeit could only have paſſed upon the world, while the genuine was unknown. The moment this was fetched out of its repoſitory in the archives by Mr. Goodall, that was detected. The borrowed luſtre of the moon ſunk away, before the riſing ſun.*

As to the ſmaller and un-dated contract, this is ſtill more plainly a forgery of the rebels. It is expreſsly averred above by the commiſſioners at York, to have been "of the Quene's own "hand," and by Murray himſelf to have been "*written* be the ſaid Quenis awin hand;" while the other is aſſerted to have been "*ſigned* with "the Quene's hand, and alſo with Bothwell's," but "*written*—with the Earl of Huntley's own "hand." We have here therefore a peculiar evidence of forgery. This little contract, from ſome extraordinary but unknown circumſtances in its hiſtory, is *the only one of all theſe attributed writings, that was* not *publiſhed in the Detection of Buchanan*, being firſt printed by Mr. Goodall in 1754; what is more ſurpriſing, is *the only one of all theſe attributed writings*, that *was left at London in the original* by the rebels; and, what is more ſurpriſing than either, is *the only one of all theſe attributed writings, that remains in the original at preſent.* It remains in the Cotton library, *Ca-*

* See this at full length in Appendix, No. xiv.

ligula,

ligula, C. 1. *fol.* 202. From that original Mr. Goodall publiſhed it. AND THAT IS APPARENTLY NOT WRITTEN BY THE QUEEN'S HAND. This is a full proof of the general forgery. It is a proof addreſſed to the very ſenſes. The *ſubſcription* of it is in a different hand from the *contract* itſelf. It is alſo different from Mary's hand. The letters of it, in general, carry no great reſemblance to the writing of Mary. The firſt letter, in particular, is entirely different. In all the genuine ſubſcriptions of her name, the firſt letter is conſtantly of the ſame length with the reſt; while, in the baſtard ſubſcription before us, it is *twice* as long as they. And, what crowns the whole, the contract itſelf, which is aſſerted by Murray and aſſerted by the commiſſioners to have been written with the Queen's own hand, is actually written in one totally different, is actually written in the formal hand of a lawyer, and is actually written in a kind of chancery hand.* So palpably groſs is the forgery here!

Yet let me add another remark. When this contract was ſhewn at York, it was certainly *written* in the *ſame* hand in which it was *ſubſcribed.* This is plain from the account of it, given equally

* Appendix, No. xiv, and Goodall, i. 126. So alſo ſays Ruddiman in his notes upon Buchanan's Hiſt. xix. 462. "Quem autem hic contractum," he tells us, "a Reginæ "manu ſcriptum aſſeverat Buchananus, *alia manu* ex *diverſa* "*literarum formâ et modulo* exaratum contendit David Cra- "fordius, *qui eum cum aliis genuinis Reginæ ſcriptis compoſuit.* "Vide *acta publica ac literas* ab ipſo collectas in Biblioth. "Jurid. Confer etiam appendicem ad Anglicam Detectionis "et Actionis in Mariam interpretationem, Pag. 1."

by

by the commiſſioners and by Murray. But when it was exhibited to Cecil, and lodged among his papers now in the Cotton library, it was very different. Cecil's contract is written in one hand, and ſubſcribed in another. Cecil's contract *pretends* not to be written in the Queen's hand, though the contract of the commiſſioners and the contract of Murray does. *That* pretends only to be *ſubſcribed* by Mary, when *this* pretends to be *written* by her. They are therefore not the ſame. The contract ſhewn at York, and reported by Murray, has been ſuppreſſed. Another has been formed upon another plan, and yet given to Cecil as the ſame. This demonſtrates the forgery again in the fulleſt manner. And, to mark ſtill more the confuſedneſs of guilt in Murray, he exhibited a contract all written in the Queen's hand at York, he changed it afterwards into a contract only ſubſcribed by her, he preſented the latter to Cecil, and ſtill he ſays he preſented the former to him.

But was not the aſſumption of Lord Huntly's name, as a witneſs to one of theſe counterfeits, and even as the very writer of it, a moſt extraordinary circumſtance; *if* the whole was forged? The whole was certainly forged. The actual appearance of the real contract, and the late production of the mimick one; the appearance alſo of another contract, as all written by Mary's hand, and its re-appearance, as only ſubſcribed by her; concur deciſively to prove it a forgery. The uſe of Huntly's name, therefore, *was* a moſt extraordinary circumſtance. He was then alive. He was then warm

warm againſt the rebels. He was full of loyalty and ſpirit. And would not ſuch a man as this, exult in expoſing the impudence of falſehood in the rebels, and glory in blaſting their reputation by proclaiming their forgery? He certainly would. Yet he did not. In the beginning of the year 1569, appeared what is called "the "proteſtatioun of the Erlis of Huntly and Argyll, "touching the murthour of the King of Scottis." In this, Argyle and Huntly are ſeen producing ſome very violent preſumptions againſt Murray and Lethington, of their guiltineſs in the murder; and making this very pointed concluſion from the whole, againſt them: "We judge in our "conſciences, and haldis for certane and treuth, "that the ſaidis Erle of Murray and Secretarie "Lethingtoun wer auctoris, inventaris, devyſeris, "counſallouris, and cauſeris of the ſaid murthour, "in quhat manner or be quhatſumever perſounis "the ſamin was execute."* And "was not this "alſo the time," ſays Mr. Hume, "for Hunt-"ly to deny his writing [and witneſſing] Mary's "contract with Bothwell, if that paper had been "a forgery?"† It certainly was the propereſt of all times. Only we ſhould be certain alſo, that he actually DREW UP the proteſtation, and that, when he did it, he actually KNEW of the writing and teſtimony, thus attributed to him by the rebels. Theſe two circumſtances muſt be aſcertained, before we can expect him to deny. Mr. Hume

* Goodall, ii. 320. † Hiſt. v. 151.

indeed

indeed has taken it for granted, that Huntly knew—becauſe he himſelf knows. On the ſame principle, many a ſpectator in the playhouſe is aſtoniſhed, that the perſons moving before him do not act very differently from what they do, by availing themſelves of all that inſight into characters and incidents, which he himſelf enjoys. And in fact the Earl of Huntly, *when* he drew up the proteſtation, was as little apprized of the contract affirmed by the rebels to be written and witneſſed by him, as he was of the power of gravitation, or the motion of the fixed ſtars. He *did not draw up the proteſtation at all.* It was compoſed by Lord Boyd and the Biſhop of Roſs, of whom Lord Boyd had juſt come to Mary; was immediately ſent by her to the Earls Huntly and Argyle, for their ſeals and ſubſcriptions; and was intercepted on the way, remitted to Cecil, and ſo lodged among Cecil's papers in the ſtate in which it now appears, un-ſealed, un-ſubſcribed, and undated in month, day, or place.*

" Ze ſall reſſave," ſays Mary in a covering diſpatch to Huntly of the 5th of January 1569, " one " letter be this beirar, to be ſubſcryvit be zou, and " our couſigne the Erle of Argyle." It " is maid be " my Lord Boyd's adwyſe," ſhe adds, " conform " to the declaratioun ze maid to our traiſt [truſty] " counſallour the Biſhop of Roſs, he knawing zour " deliberatioun and will thairin-till." It was therefore drawn up by Lord Boyd from the minutes of

* Goodall, ii. 321. It is but fair to acknowledge, that Dr. Robertſon in Diſſ. 7—9 firſt taught me to ſee this fact, in oppoſition to the friends of Mary.

a con-

a converſation, which the earls had reported formally to the biſhop; and in conſequence of an agreement then made betwixt him and them, that they would authenticate the particulars, and aſſert their inference from them, whenever it was thought expedient for the honour of Mary. But, as ſhe ſubjoins, "we refer to zour diſcretiounis "to eik and pair the ſaid letter, as ze ſall think "beſt, and extend it in ſic form, as ze ſall think "maiſt neceſſare, praying zou to ſend us the "ſamin agane, ſubſcrivit and ſeillit, the ſooneſt ze "may; to the effect it may be producit, togid-"der with the reſt of the accuſatiounis, quhilk "we intend to give in aganis [againſt] our tra-"touris."* Mary ſent it for their ſeals and ſubſcriptions, authorized them to lengthen or ſhorten it previouſly as they thought requiſite, and deſired to have it returned with all expedition; that ſhe might produce it with ſome other proofs to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, in order to

* Goodall, ii. 315 and 316. The proteſtation and the covering letter are both in the ſame hand-writing; which is different from Mary's (Diſſ. 9), and is, no doubt, that of the Lord Boyd. Only, the letter is ſubſcribed by Mary (Diſſ. 9). And Dr. Robertſon aſſigns this reaſon for the letter being only ſubſcribed, and not written alſo, by Mary; that "ſhe ſeldom choſe to write in the Engliſh language" (Diſſ. 9). The fact is as untrue, as the reaſon is ridiculous. She appears frequently writing letters in Engliſh. She actually appears writing in *Engliſh*, to her embaſſadour in *France* itſelf (Keith, pref. vii—viii). And the true reaſon for her only ſigning the covering diſpatch, was obviouſly this; that it and the proteſtation had been written ready for her by Lord Boyd, and that ſhe had nothing more to do, than to ſign the one and to ſend off both.

ſub-

ſubſtantiate the charge which ſhe had brought againſt Murray and his aſſociates, of being, as they plainly were, the very authors of the murder, that they had the audacity to charge upon her. Murray accordingly expected the proteſtation to be ſhewn in London againſt him, after he was gone for Scotland. He was within five days of his departure, when the paper came into Cecil's hands. He ſat down on the 19th of January 1569, to reply to it before it was publiſhed. "Becauſe," he ſays, "the cuſtume of "my adverſaris is, and has bene, rather to ca- "lumpniate and backbite me in my abſence, "than befoir my face; and that it may happen "thame, quhen I am departit furth of this "realme, ſclanderouſlie and untrewlie to report "untreuthis of me, and namelie towards ſum "ſpechis haldin in my hearing at Craigmillar, "in the moneth of November, 1566," about three months before the murder; for this reaſon he replies to the proteſtation. He replies to it, as if already ſanctioned by the earls. And Cecil, with whom the reply was left, indorſes it in form, as "an anſwer of the Erle of Mur- "ray to a wryting of the Erle of Huntly and "Argyle."

But in this anſwer does he with Mr. Hume aſk Lord Huntly, why he did not deny his writing and witneſſing the contract? Let us ſee. The accuſation from the earls naturally comes firſt. Yet he plainly replies to this, with all the movements of a detected villain,

With all the forc'd pace of a ſhuffling nag.

He is bold in denying—*what is not aſſerted*, concerning

cerning ſubſcriptions and bands. But to the converſation aſſerted he anſwers, in the moſt evaſive manner. "In cais ony man will ſay and "affirm, that ever I was preſent quhen ony pur- "poſis wer haldin at Craigmillar in my audi- "ence," NOT, as he would have anſwered if he had been innocent, *ſuch or of ſuch a nature as are ſtated in the proteſtation*, but "tending to ony "unlauchful or diſhonorabill end;" then he denies it. He goes off from the *reality* of the fact aſſerted againſt him, and is ready to diſcuſs with the earls the *quality* and *tendency* of it. He does not dare to deny the converſation ſtated, either in the matter or in the manner. He indeed acknowledges it in effect. And it certainly carries, as Mary thought it would carry, a very damnatory aſpect againſt him. But it carries a ten times more damnatory one, from the authority which he has ſtamped upon it, by the evaſiveneſs and the frivolouſneſs of his reply. And thus that infamous addition of injury to the impriſonment of Mary, which ſhews Elizabeth, not merely to have confined her perſon, but to have alſo *intercepted her letters*; and that infamous addition of evidence for the conſpiracy between Elizabeth and Murray, which proves Elizabeth, not only to have precluded all poſſibility of Mary's defending herſelf againſt Murray's accuſations of murder, but to have equally precluded her from *fixing the murder upon Murray*, by intercepting *her formal diſpatches for that purpoſe*; all has now turned out eventually, to the ampler vindication of Mary's innocence, and

to the fuller atteſtation of Murray's and Elizabeth's guilt.

Murray, however, gives us another reply to the charges in the proteſtation. This *muſt* be ſatisfactory. *He had confeſſed the whole truth*, he ſays, *to Elizabeth*; a proper confeſſor for ſuch a confeſſionary! "I have alreddie declarit to the "Quene's Majeſtie," he tells us, "the effect "of the haill purpoſis ſpokin in my audience at "the ſamin tyme, ſincerely and trewlie, as I "will anſwer to Almychtie God, unconceiling "ony part to my remembrance, as hir Hienes, "I traiſt, will report." * The publick is put off with an eluſory anſwer; that however, to the confuſion of Murray, tells all which he wants to hide. But Elizabeth is indulged with a full account. The publick was not likely to *ſhrive* him ſo gently, as ſhe would. She was ſelected for this good work, on the ſame principle that the Jeſuits were lately ſelected by all the popiſh ſovereigns in Europe, from the happy laxity of her ſentiments and morals. He could be explicit in his auricular diſcloſures to her. And ſhe was very ready, no doubt, to adminiſter ghoſtly comfort to him, and to give him a plenary abſolution. Father Gerard and Kitty Cadiere at Thoulon in 1731, eaſily ſettled the ritual of their confeſſions and abſolutions together.

This is the whole of his anſwer. He therefore does not take up Mr. Hume's objection, and expreſs his wonder at Huntly's ſilence concerning

* Goodall, ii. 321—322.

the

the contract. He knew indeed, though Mr. Hume did not, that Huntly had no other concern in the proteſtation, than, in concert with the Earl of Argyle, to furniſh thoſe particulars of a very remarkable converſation, which conſtitute the body of it. Theſe muſt have been furniſhed to the biſhop of Roſs, when he was laſt in Scotland, when he was appointed a commiſſioner there by the Lords of Mary's party on Sept. 12 1568,* and, conſequently, when the contracts had not hitherto made their appearance at all.

Yet ſtill Mr. Hume's queſtion recurs, and is only to be applied to a different perſon. And "was not this the time," let *me* aſk in his name, "for Mary's commiſſioners, the biſhop and Lord "Boyd to make Huntly deny his writing [and "witneſſing] her contract with Bothwell, if that "paper had been a forgery?" It certainly was. But ſtill why does not Murray aſk the queſtion himſelf, in his reply before? For this plain reaſon, becauſe he was aware that Mary and her commiſſioners knew as little of the contract, the witneſſing, or the writing, as Huntly himſelf. Neither ſhe nor they, at the time, *knew of any thing except the letters*. This is very remarkable. It ought to be particularly noticed, as a circumſtance ſingularly ſtriking, even amidſt all the ſingularities of this ſtrangely conducted accuſation. The commiſſioners of Mary, who from their reſidence in London, as well as their employment there, were the regular channels of intelligence to her; but who could not convey

* Goodall, ii. 351—353.

what they had never received; were not only precluded from all inſpection of the original writings adduced againſt her, were not only debarred from all copies of them, but did not even hear, either by public report or by ſecret communication, of theſe writings being any thing more than the letters. "My maiſtres," ſays the very biſhop himſelf, in his often-cited memorial of the 17th of December 1568, "does affirm "conſtantlie, ſcho never did write ony ſic LET-"TERIS as are alledgit, but the ſaymin are forgit "and maid expreſlie be hir adverſaries." Theſe he afterwards calls, "the alledgit writingis in "form of MISSIVE LETTERIS OR EPISTLES."* But the ſame biſhop, who was the head and hand of the whole commiſſion, did afterwards with a fidelity, a firmneſs, and a zeal, that muſt do him great honour in the eyes of an honeſt and a diſcerning publick, † print a vindication of his injured miſtreſs in London, at the beginning of the year 1570; and, on its being ſuppreſſed by the tyrannous policy of Elizabeth, did afterwards reprint it at Liege in Brabant, with additions and corrections, in 1571. ‡ In this he ſpeaks, juſt as he ſpoke in his memorial before. "They pretend," he ſays, "certaine LET-"TERS, that they ſurmiſe and would have to have "bene written by her Grace, whereby they ſeeke "to inferre againſt her many a preſumption."§

* Goodall, ii. 388 and 389.

† Yet Dr. Robertſon pronounces him "a man heated with faction." Diſſ. 6.

‡ Appendix, No. xii.

§ Defence of Queen Marie's Honour, Anderſon, i. 4.

"They

"They ſay," he adds, "that they have a ſuffici-
"ent prouf to juſtifie the chiefeſt part of their ac-
"cuſation.—This, this is their joly witneſſe.—
"And ſoothly this witneſſe yet,—what elſe is it
"but a blind and deaf, and a domme teſtimonie
"of certaine obſcure LETTERS?—It is, forſooth,
"a box of LETTERS taken from one Dougleiſh,—
"which LETTERS he received at Edenborough
"of one Sir James Balfoure."* "Nevertheleſſe,"
he ſubjoins, "when you have taken your beſt
"advantage you can of them, ſuch kinde of
"LETTERS MISSIVE AND EPISTLES—are not
"able in any-wiſe to make a lawful preſumption,
"much leſſe any good and ſubſtantial prouſe,
"not only againſt your Soveraigne and Prince,
"but not ſo muche as againſt the pooreſt wo-
"man, or ſimpleſt wretched creature, in all Scot-
"land."† "And thinke you nowe, you moſt un-
"grate and unthankeful ſubjectes, that ye maye
"lawefullye take armes againſt your miſtreſſe
"and your moſt benigne Queene, that ye maye
"caſte her into vile priſon, and ſpoyle her of her
"croune, and (whiche is more) of her good
"and honourable name, fame, and eſtimation;
"and then bleare mennes eies, and face the world
"out, with the ſhew of theſe LETTERS, as it
"were with a carde of ten? But yet, ſay you,
"they are her LETTERS. She denieth them,
"and we denie them too." ‡ "Think ye, that
"wiſe and expert men are ignorant, how peri-
"lous and dangerous a matter it is, to ſuffer any
"good prouſe upon illation of LETTERS;—but

* P. 15 and 16. † P. 17 and 18. ‡ P. 18.

" who conferred theſe LETTERS, I pray you, with " your Queene's own hande-writing?—As though " theſe counterfeit LETTERS, were not the under- " propped poſtes and upholders of your whole " treachery and uſurped kingdome; as though " that many in Scotlande could not expreſſe, and " reſemble, and counterfeit, in their writings, the " Queene's very character; and as though there " were not among yourſelves ſome ſinguler ar- " tificer in this handy-craft, and that hath ſent " LETTERS alſo in her very name, as wel into " Englande, as to other places byſides, without " either her commaundement or knowledge." * Even ſo late as the ſecond publication of this ſpirited addreſs, when the conference at Weſtminſter had been over for years, does the biſhop appear totally ignorant of any other hand-writing being produced beſides Mary's, totally ignorant of any other papers except the letters. The ſonnets, the contracts, were equally and wholly unknown to him. They were equally unknown alſo to thoſe two very valuable and intelligent writers, the cotemporary author of Crawford's memoirs, and the cotemporary compoſer of Elizabeth's annals. † And we may therefore reſt in the fulleſt aſſurance of conviction, that they were alſo unknown to Mary, Lord Boyd, and the biſhop, on the 5th of January 1569, when ſhe ſent the proteſtation to Huntly, which Boyd had written from the biſhop's minutes.

* P. 19 and 20.

† Crawford, 114, mentions only "love-letters and verſes," as preſented, and Camden, 17 Tranſ. 144 Orig. ſpeaks only of " letters and verſes," " epiſtolas et carmina."

The

The contracts and the ſonnets then, the very exiſtence of which remained unknown for ever to Mary and to Mary's commiſſioners, were forged by the rebels in the month of September 1568, more than nine whole months after the forgery of the letters. They were to ſupport the adulterous evidence of the letters in England. The others had been ſufficient in Scotland, with the fulminated anathema of the murder of Mary annexed to them. This anathema could operate only in Scotland. Even there, as the Queen was out of the hands of the rebels, it would be merely a *Brutum Fulmen* at preſent. Murray muſt therefore contrive ſome engine of power, to ſupply its place. In the clear element of England, no terrour of turbulence could operate. His terrour there muſt be art. And his forged papers muſt be his formidable weapons. He accordingly increaſed their number. He drew forth ſome new arms, from his inexhauſtible magazines of artillery. Theſe had never been ſeen before. Their operation would accordingly be more powerful. They would act upon the fears of Mary, juſt as the cannons of Europe did upon the Indians, at the firſt invaſion of America.

The rebels thus entered upon a new ſyſtem of variations. They have been hitherto employed, in retrenching the ſuperfluities of their original evidence, in paring off the dangerous excreſcencies, and in reducing the whole into a ſoberer compaſs. But we now ſee them buſy, in enlarging their original evidences, in multiplying the

parts that compoſe it, and in ſuperadding new writings to the old. Nor let this be thought by the haſty briſkneſs of inexperience, an inconſiſtency in my account of their conduct. It is none. My account is plainly founded upon facts. The inconſiſtency, therefore, would not be in me, but in them. Yet there is none in either. Their conduct, however varying, was uniformly the ſame. It flowed from the ſame ſource. It was the ſame current, tending to the ſame point, and only ſeeking it by another direction. It was the ſame principle of conſcious and cautious villainy, which I have noticed ſo often before. This was perpetually ſenſible of its danger, and apprehenſive of a detection. This was for that reaſon perpetually warding off the one, and guarding againſt the other. And it neceſſarily varied its wards, with its ſenſe of the danger; and ſhifted its guard, with its apprehenſions of detection. In their eagerneſs to criminate Mary at firſt, the rebels had paſſed all the lines and limits of diſcretion. Theirs was very ſtrikingly the

> Vaulting ambition, that o'er-leaps itſelf,
> And falls on t'other ſide.

They ſoon ſaw this. They corrected themſelves. They new-formed the letters. Theſe had ſtill ſome relicks of their original exceſs about them. They pruned them away with a careful hand. Yet the neceſſity of contraction had now begun to be counterpoiſed in their thoughts, with another neceſſity for enlarging. At this inſtant both were in the ſcales. Sometimes the one preponderated, and ſometimes the other. They took

took away the ſubſcriptions and directions, in December 1567. They added the contracts and ſonnets, in September following. And they tore off the dates, in the November afterwards. So equally mingled in their ſouls at this period, were the fears of deficiency and the apprehenſions of exuberance! So very buſy do they now appear, in ſometimes turning to thoſe, and in ſometimes liſtening to theſe! They are reducing the exuberance. They are ſupplying the deficiency. They are forming ſonnets and contracts. They actually preſent them to the commiſſioners. Yet they think it prudent afterwards, to conceal all knowledge even of their exiſtence, from Mary's commiſſioners. And they are once more betraying the villainy, which they are ſo anxious to conceal; by the different attitudes, in which the ever-reſtleſs genius of guilt is thus exhibiting them, to the eyes of the world.

§ IV.

But this principle carried a ſtill greater conſequence with it. Not merely ſonnets and contracts were ſubjoined to the original letters. The very LETTERS themſelves were VARIED IN THEIR NUMBER. They were in ſome meaſure *letters from the moon*. They partook of the qualities of their native planet. They preſented different *phaſes* at different times. And they ſucceſſively *increaſed* and *diminiſhed* in their ſize.

When they were firſt produced before the parliament and council in Scotland, they were "DIVERS hir previe lettres." * They were

* Appendix, No. xii.

therefore FOUR or FIVE at leaſt. When they were produced at York, they were actually FIVE. "It appeared—unto us," ſay the commiſſioners there, "by TWO letters of her awne hand, that," &c. * They afterwards form an abſtract of, and make extracts from, THREE others. "Im-"primis," they ſay, "after lang diſcourſe of hir "conference with the king hir huſband in Glaſ-"cow, ſche wreits to the ſaid Erle," Bothwell, "in thir [theſe] termes." They then ſay thus: "Item, in ANE UTHER LETTRE ſent be Betoun," &c. And they add, "Item, in ANE UTHER LET-"TRE," &c. † Here therefore are five letters exhibited at York. But the number produced afterwards, and printed ſince, was and is EIGHT. "We producit," ſays Murray himſelf, "*Eight* "letteris—writtin be the Quenis awin hand, and "ſent to—James ſumtime Erle of Bothville." ‡ Where then are the other THREE at preſent? Are they not yet *diſcovered?* But the letters, in general, have now been diſcovered fifteen months. The very ſonnets and contracts, that were *below* the letters, and there lay hid for ſo many months, have been recently diſcovered. And do the three remaining letters lye ſtill lower in the box, *under* the contracts and ſonnets; and ſo eſcape the notice of the rebels?

If there they are, they ſtill eſcape it. The conference at Weſtminſter takes place immediately. Murray appears with his contracts, ſonnets, and letters. But are his letters only five ſtill? They are ſtill five only. This is clear

* Appendix, No. v. † Ibid. No. vii. ‡ Ibid. No. xi.

from

from a ſtrict conſideration, of what the commiſſioners and privy counſellors ſay concerning them. The rebels "produced," ſay the former, "SEVEN ſeveral wrytings written in *French*,—which "SEVEN wrytings, being copied, were read in "*French*,—the tenors of all which SEVEN wrytings "hereafter follow in order, the *firſt being in man-*"*ner of a ſonnet.*" * But of what, beſides the ſonnet, did theſe ſeven writings in French conſiſt? They conſiſted, ſays the privy council, of "ſun-"dry LETTRES, written in *French*,—and ther-"with alſo one long *ſonnet*, and *a promiſe of mar-*"*riage* in the name of the—Quene with the "ſaid Erle Bothwell." † Theſe indeed were all that were written in *French*. There could therefore be no more of them. And as the French promiſe of marriage, and the ſonnets, here conſidered as one ſonnet, made two out of the ſeven writings; the letters muſt have formed the other five.

FIVE then was the whole number of the preſent letters, at York and at Weſtminſter. Yet eight were publiſhed afterwards. And eight were produced by Murray. But they were not produced at the time. This is plain, from the united teſtimonies of the privy counſellors and the commiſſioners. They were therefore produced afterwards. They were produced within nine months afterwards. They even appear from Murray himſelf, to have been produced before the departure of him and his aſſociates

* Appendix, No. viii. † Ibid. No. ix.

for

for Scotland. On the 15th of October 1569, Murray delivered ſome inſtructions to an embaſſadour whom he ſent to Elizabeth, and gave him a general, but large, account of his own proceedings with her commiſſioners before. He therefore informed him, concerning the papers under Mary's hand, that he *then* "producit *eight* "letteris in French, written be the—Quenis awin "hand,—Item, a little contract, or obligatioun, "written be the ſaid Quenis awin hand." He ſtrangely forgets the ſonnets. But he afterwards adds this obſervation: "the copies of *all* quhilk "letteris—wer deliverit to Mr. Secretary, in "quhais handis thay remane." And he then ſubjoins this aſſertion: "efter quhilk probatioun "led, the ſaidis commiſſioneris for the Quenis "Majeſtie of England allowed of our proceid-"ingis;—and hereupon we returnit into Scot-"land." * The three letters behind, were put into the hands of Cecil; before Murray left London, and before the 24th of January 1569.

He was willing to complete his exhibited evidence, previous to his departure. For that reaſon, he went to ſearch the box once more. He darted his eagle's eyes into the inſide of it. He thruſt his eagle's talons to the bottom of it. The circumſtance of its being the laſt examination, peculiarly ſharpened both. And he faſtened upon no leſs than THREE French letters there, that had hitherto lain unnoticed. Theſe he dragged forth with great eagerneſs. Theſe he

* Goodall, 11.—87, and 88.

carried

carried to the honeſt Cecil. He left copies with him. But he brought back the originals. He re-placed them in their ſnug repoſitory again. The number of the letters in French was at laſt completed. And they were now produced, juſt as they were publiſhed, eight in all.

By ſuch ſlow degrees was the written teſtimony againſt Mary finally conſummated. Nine months are required, to form the conſtituent parts of a man. But twice nine were neceſſary, to form the whole of theſe extraordinary evidences.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

But, what is perhaps more wonderful ſtill, there were OTHER LETTERS, that juſt popped out into the eye of the world, then retired haſtily into their cell again, and are for ever inviſible now. Their modeſt merit ſhrunk back from the light. They were not calculated to ſtand the broad eye of day. They retired with the ſpirits of darkneſs, before the beams of the ſun. They took refuge in the ſhades, from which they had been painfully compelled. There they continued ever afterwards. And the only proof of their exiſtence is, that they are recorded to have once appeared.

One of them is recorded by the commiſſioners at York. It is thus mentioned. "After the de-"viſe of the murder," they ſay, "was deter-"mined" upon the king, "as it ſeemed by the ſe-"quel; they," the rebels, "inferred upon A LETTER "OF HER OWN HAND, that there was another "meane

" meane of a more cleanly conveyance, deviſed to " kill the King; for there was a quarrel made be- " twixt him and the Lord Robert of Holie-roode- " houſe, by carrying of falſe tales betwixte thame, " the Quene being the inſtrument, as they ſayde, " to bring it to paſs; which purpoſe, if it had taken " effect, as it was very likelie (for the one geving " the lye to the other, they were at daggers-draw- " inge), it had eaſed them of the proſecution of " the develiſh fact; which, this taking none ef- " fect, was afterwards moſt tirannouſly execut- " ed."* This letter never made a diſtinct appearance again. Yet it was plainly conſidered as an important one by the rebels, by their dwelling ſo much upon it themſelves, and by their making the commiſſioners take ſo much notice of it. This alſo appears from that rebel journal, which I have mentioned formerly. There it is dwelt upon again. " Feb. 7," it ſays under, 1566-7, " ſhe [Mary] ludged and lay all nycht agane in " the fore-ſaid chalmer," the chamber under the King's, " and from thence wrayt that ſame *nycht* " THE LETTER, concerning the purpoſe of the " Abbot of Halyruid-houſe. 8, She confronted " the Kyng, and my Lord of Halyruid-houſe, " conform to HIR LETTER wryttin the *nycht* be- " foir."† This letter is alſo mentioned by Paris in his ſecond confeſſion; when he ſays, that the Queen " eſcrivoit *de lettres* a Mons. de Boduel, " et les envoye par le dict Paris au Sieur de " Boduel, *environ l'onze ou douze heures de nuit.*"‡

* Appendix, No. v. † Ibid. No. x. ‡ Goodall, ii. 80.

So

So important was the letter in the eyes of the rebels, as to be inſiſted upon very particularly. It has as much honour paid to it in the journal, as the letters from Stirling. It has more honour paid it by the commiſſioners, than they. And yet, after all, it has now diſappeared for ever. This gives us one inſtance more, and within a very ſhort compaſs too, of a ſtriking variation in the rebel evidence againſt Mary. But what was the reaſon of their conduct in this inſtance? They found ſome abſurdity in it, no doubt, of which it may be impoſſible for us to judge, as we have not a copy of the letter; and of which it might be equally impoſſible perhaps, if we had. Yet fortunately we can ſee the reaſon, though we have not the copy. That letter was fabricated upon the ORIGINAL PLAN of the letters. It was fabricated, when the MURDER OF THE KING was yet to be the object of them. This appears from the account given of it at York. "They inferred "upon a letter of her own hand, that there was "*another* meane deviſed to *kill the King*—, which "purpoſe, if it had taken effect,—had *eaſed* them "of" the murder by powder. And the journal concurs with this. "Feb. 5," it ſays, "ſhe," Mary, "ludged all nycht under the King, in the "chalmer *quhairin the poulder was layd thairefter*; "—Feb. 9, She and Bothwell—paſt up—to the "King's chalmer, and thair thay remaynit che-"riſſing him, quhill Bothwell and his complices "hayd putt all thingis to ordour, and Paris, hir "chalmer-child, *hayd reſſavit in hir chalmer the "poulder.*

" *poulder.*"* Both ſhew the letter to have been framed, as one of a ſeries, for fixing the murder of the King directly upon Mary. And it was, therefore, what we may call ONE OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS.

That the rebels ſhould have ſo far departed from their own grand variation, by which they changed the ſcope and deſign of the letters from murder to adultery, as to produce a letter concerning the murder; is very amazing. But it ſhews us the tremulous and deſultory nature of guilt, very ſtrongly. " Animus impurus, Diis " hominibuſque infeſtus, neque vigiliis neque " quietibus ſedari poterat; ita conſcientia men- " tem excitam *vaſtabat*; igitur—*citus modo, modo* " *tardus inceſſus*; prorſus in facie vultuque ve- " cordia inerat." Such is the general character of *conduct*, in the Catilines and the Murraies of all ages! We have ſeen the ſame ſort of behaviour in them, before. We have particularly ſeen them, reverting to the point of murder in their charges, when they had previouſly gone off to adultery in their evidences. And we have additionally ſeen them, deliver—in this journal with the letter; when the letters were now altered ſubſtantially, and when the journal was conſtructed for them as they ſtood before. " Prorſus in facie vultuque " vecordia inerat."

But this is not the only letter, that, like a meteor, ſhoots ſuddenly acroſs the eye, and then is loſt for ever. We have others. Some, like the

* Appendix, No. x.

former,

former, draw a train of light after them, by which they ſhew themſelves very diſtinctly, before they vaniſh away. Another juſt kindles, is ſeen, and dies. This is equally, though not in an equal degree, noticed with the former in the journal. Tracing the Queen's motions from Edinborough to Glaſgow, and from Glaſgow back to Edinborough again, with a view to the formation of the letters; the journal ſays thus: "Jan. 29, She "remained all day in Linlythquow with the King, "and WRAYTT FROM THENCE TO BOTHWELL." At this time and from this place, therefore, was one of the letters dated, which the rebels had previouſly deſigned to produce. It was, equally with the former, one in the ſeries of *murderous* evidence. It was what we may call, ANOTHER OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS.

When Lethington ſat down to compoſe the letters for Mary, he naturally began to compoſe upon his previous ideas concerning them. He meant to prove the murder only. He therefore took his ſtation, near to the time of the murder. He wrote a letter for her from Holyrood-houſe, three days only before the murder. He wrote another from Linlithgow, thirteen days before it. And ſo far he obviouſly purſued the line of his original plan. But he actually purſued it ſtill farther. He wrote ſome letters from her, antecedent to both, from Glaſgow. All theſe went on in a ſeries of murderous evidence, from the

* Appendix, No. x.

21ſt of January, when ſhe ſet out to fetch the King from Glaſgow, to the 10th of February, when the King was murdered. He thus formed an edition of the letters, which I have not noticed before; the firſt actual impreſſion of them. And all were addreſſed, probably, to ſome confidante of her own ſex. But, when he had thus drawn out his previous ideas upon paper, he ſaw the neceſſity for altering his plan. He muſt make the adultery the harbinger to the murder. He muſt change the female confidante into the adulterous Earl. He muſt have a new ſeries of letters to him, for the ſeizure in April following. He inſtantly did all this. He added the new letters. He interpolated, he reformed the old; to make them ſerve ſtill. The time was preſſing. And in his hurry he neglected to alter a circumſtance, which I have noticed before in the firſt letter, and which ſhews to this day, that the letter was originally addreſſed, *not* to Bothwell, *but* to ſome other perſon; becauſe it ſpeaks of Bothwell AS A THIRD PERSON. "Remember zow," it ſays with infinite abſurdity to *Bothwell* at preſent, "of the purpois of the Lady Reres, of the "Ingliſmen, of his mother, of the Erle of Argyle, "OF THE ERLE OF BOTHWELL."* Bothwell is here ſpoken of, as equally a third perſon with "Argyle;" and as equally diſtinct from the perſon addreſſed, with "his mother," with "the "Ingliſmen," or with "Lady Reres." But no ſet of ideas, *at the time*, could have generated this

* See Vol. 2d, Lett. i. Sect. xxxvi.

groſs

groſs abſurdity. It could have ariſen only from the colliſion of one ſet againſt another, a poſteriour coming over a prior, and the maſter of both not taking ſufficient care to reconcile them together. And thus we have a new ſeries of letters, that interpoſe between the letters delineated on the mind, and realized by the pen, of Lethington at firſt, and the letters produced to the publick afterwards; an intermediate ſet, that partook of the ideas of both; that inſiſted upon the adultery, and that yet adhered to the murder.

But there are *ſeveral* of theſe meteorous letters, that appear, like the beams of the Aurora Borealis, all converging to a point, in the conference at Weſtminſter. On the 8th of December, the day of the grand exhibition, the journal of the commiſſioners ſpeaks thus. "This daye," it tells us, "the Erle of Murray, according to the "appoyntment yeſterday, came to the Quene's "Majeſtie's commiſſioners, ſaying, that, as they "had *yeſternight* produced and ſhewed SUNDRY "WRYTINGS, tending to prove the hatred which "the Quene of Scots bare towards her huſband "to the tyme of his murder; wherin alſo they "ſaid might appear ſpeciall arguments of her in-"ordinate love towards the Erle Bothwell: ſo, "for the further ſatisfaction both of the Quene's "Majeſtie and theyr lordſhips, they were ready "to produce and ſhew a great number of *other* "LETTERS *wrytten by the ſaid Quene*, wherin, as "they ſaid, might appear very evidently her in-"ordinate love towards the ſaid Erle Bothwell, "with ſundry other arguments of her guiltynes

" of the murder of her huſband. And ſo ther-
" upon they produced ſeven ſeveral wrytings
" wrytten in French IN THE LYKE Romain HAND,
" as OTHERS her LETTERS which were SHEWED
" YESTERNIGHT, and AVOWED BY THEM TO BE
" WRYTTEN BY THE SAID QUENE.—The tenors
" of all which ſeven wrytings hereafter follow in
" order."* In this curious and uſeful paſſage, we ſee a ſet of letters apparently different from the famous eight. *They* were produced on the 7th of December, but *theſe* on the 8th. *They* were equally with *theſe* avowed by their producers, to be Mary's writing. *They* were equally in a hand like hers. *They* equally betrayed her violent regard for Bothwell. But *they* managed the regard in a different manner. In *theſe* the attachment to Bothwell is the primary object; while in *them* it was only a ſecondary. *Theſe* were to ſhew " her inordinate love towards the—Erle
" Bothwell, *with* ſundry other arguments of her
" guiltyneſs of the murder of her huſband;" and *they* " to prove the hatred which the Quene of
" Scotts bare towards her huſband—, *wherin*
" *alſo* they ſaid might appear ſpeciall arguments
" of her inordinate love." In *theſe* that love is only made one " with ſundry *other arguments*," of her concern in the murder. In *them* was ſhewn " the hatred which the Quene of Scotts bare
" toward her huſband, TO THE TYME OF HIS
" MURDER." *They* therefore carried on the *murderous* part of the correſpondence, to a later day

* Appendix, No. viii.

than

than the eight do; even as late as the letters from Linlithgow and from Kirk-a-field before. Yet *they* cannot be THE ORIGINAL LETTERS of Throgmorton. Throgmorton's originals were merely ideal at firſt, and, when real, could have nothing of adulterous regard for Bothwell in them. But they are all that SECONDARY SET OF ORIGINALS, which I have juſt noticed to have been made, after Throgmorton's and before the preſent; the intermediate work in the proceſs of tranſmutation. They are not Throgmorton's. That is plain. They are not the preſent. That is ſtill plainer. And yet they approach much nearer in nature and quality to them, than to his.

Here then is an amazing diſcovery from all. Here is a ſet of new jewels found in this caſket of Mary's, nearly the ſame in number and in value, with all that we have ſeen before. So richly ſtored was it with diamonds of different waters! Of the beſt were the famous eight. Of the next beſt were theſe new-diſcovered gems. And of the worſt were the ſonnets and contracts. But why were theſe letters, that are ſo much ſuperiour to the contracts and ſonnets, and ſo nearly alike to the famous eight, not brought forward with a confidence more ſuitable to their merit? Why do they walk as pages, when they might rank as lords? Why are they adduced to ſubſtantiate the handwriting of the eight, when they ought to have advanced with their own? And why are they ordered to do that, when they could not ſubſtantiate *their* handwriting, any more than their own? For this reaſon. In the gradations of re-

finement upon the original plan, theſe letters had ſuperſeded the letters of Throgmorton, and been ſuperſeded by the eight. Yet they were ſo ſimilar to the eight, that they were preſerved when they were ſuperſeded. They were kept for the purpoſe of co-operating with the eight, in pointing forcibly *their* charge of adultery and *their* ſurmiſe of murder againſt Mary, and in proving oſtenſibly *their* handwriting to be hers. They were produced as equal witneſſes with the eight, to her inordinate love for Bothwell, and to her hatred of her huſband. But then this was only an inferiour view in them. The grand aim was, to ſupport what ſo much wanted ſupport, to enſure the credibility of the eight. In the colluſive management of the principal actors among the commiſſioners, ſome form of collation was to be gone through, and ſome papers were to be furniſhed for the purpoſe. The papers, however, muſt neceſſarily be apochryphal. No other would do. The rebels were accordingly to furniſh them. And they furniſhed theſe. Yet, ſince theſe had been ſuperſeded by the eight, they were not proper to be left with them, as ſtanding witneſſes againſt Mary. The whole weight of the evidences againſt her, muſt reſt finally on the eight themſelves. Of *theſe*, therefore, copies were left with the commiſſioners. Of *thoſe*, not a copy, not a ſcrip of a copy, remained behind, when the collation was over. They were not calculated for conſideration, along with the others. They would have been found to claſh with

with them. And they were therefore withdrawn wholly and for ever.

All this ſerves pointedly to ſhew, with what an uncertain ſtep, and with what an embarraſſed countenance, the rebels advanced to produce their forged evidences. It ſerves peculiarly to point out to our obſervation, an EDITION of the letters, of which we were totally ignorant before. We ſee that edition, and the preſent, very ſtrikingly diſcriminated from each other, by being brought ſo cloſely together. And we ſee them additionally diſcriminated, by the very *number* of their letters. *This* has eight, and *that* had TEN. The number appears from Murray's and Morton's enumeration of the contents of the capacious box, in their reſpective receipts concerning it. Murray owns to have received, with the box, "all "miſſive letteris, contractis or obligatiounis for "mariage, ſonettis or luif-ballettis, and ALL "UTHERIS LETTERIS contenit theirin."* This is dated the 16th of September 1568, juſt before the conference at York. And from it there appears to have been in the box, even *then*, a ſeries of writings "ſend and paſt betwix the Quene—"and—Erll Bothvile," *beſides* the ſonnets, the contracts, and the eight letters. This ſeries is ſaid by the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, to have conſiſted of "ſundry writings," that were equally with the eight in form of "letters," and that, like them, were calculated to prove Mary's hatred of her huſband, and Mary's love for Bothwell.

* Appendix, No. iv.

But they are noticed more minutely in Morton's receipt, the 22d of January 1571. Particularizing, as Murray's does, "the miſſive letteris, con-"tractis or obligatiounis for marriage, ſonettis "or luif-ballettis;" it wraps up the general account in theſe words, "and," *not*, as Murray ſays, *all*, but, "UTHERIS LETTERIS THAIRIN CON-"TENIT, TO THE NUMBER OF XXI."* It thus gives us the exact detail of the "other letters." And the well-known epiſtles being eight, the contracts two, and the ſonnets one, the remaining TEN muſt be the amount of the others. Of theſe, as I have already obſerved, the letter from Kirk-a-field was one. This was produced at the conference in York. And, immediately before that conference, we ſee a number of letters in the box, very different from the eight, and yet as ready to be produced as they. The letter from Linlithgow was alſo another, as I have equally obſerved before. It carries an immediate relation to that from Kirk-a-field. It is the point in the ſcale of evidence, immediately antecedent to it, and connecting it and the Glaſgow epiſtles together. And hence, as I have alſo obſerved, the letters produced at Weſtminſter the night before the grand exhibition, are ſaid "to prove the hatred which "the Queen of Scotts bare toward her huſband, "TO THE TIME OF THE MURDER;" one of them bringing it down within THIRTEEN days of the murder, and the other within THREE. The reſt muſt have been from Glaſgow and from Stirling;

* Appendix, No. iv.

that

ſeries of letters, as the rebel journal witneſſes,
ng ſome from both, like the eight. But
this ſhews us a great variation in the rebel
luct, with reſpect to the journal itſelf. Con-
ted originally for the prior ſeries of letters,
as never altered afterwards for the poſteriour
And it now, very contradictorily, embraces
ı together.
ut let me urge this point concerning the jour-
ſtill further.——When the ten letters were
ıed at firſt, they were very ſimilar to the
ıt, in *the circumſtances related by them.* This
' be ſhewn ſatisfactorily, by a compariſon be-
en the journal and one of the eight, in a ſingle
ıt. In the former are theſe words: "Jan.
7, the Quene (*conforme to hir commiſſion,* AS SHE
'RYTTIS) broucht the King from Glaſgow to
ıe KALENDAR towards Edynbrough; Jan. 28,
ıe Quene broucht the King to LINLYTHQUOW
——; 29, ſhe remayned all day in LINLYTH-
ıUOW with the King, and *wraytt from thence to*
Bothwell; 30, the Quene broucht the King to
:DYNBROUGH, and patt him in HIS LUDGING
ıUHAIR HE ENDIT."* But the paſſage referred
ın the letters, is now found in the ſecond of the
ht, and runs thus: "*According to my commiſ-*
ioun, I bring the man with me to CRAIGMILLAR
ın MONOUNDAY, *quhair* he WILL BE ALL WED-
ıISDAY; and I will gang to EDINBURGH, to
lraw blude of me."† This is very plainly the
ſage alluded to by the journal. Yet there is

* Appendix, No. x. † L. ii. S. 2. in vol. 2d.

a ſtrange oppoſition between them. The journal carries the Queen on Monday Jan. 27th, to Kalendar-Houſe near Falkirk, a ſeat of Lord Livingſtone's; on Tueſday Jan. 28, conducts her to Linlithgow; and, on Thurſday the 30th, brings her to Edinborough and Kirk-a-field. But the ſecond of the eight, which has the connecting words in it at preſent, acts ſo differently from this; as to carry the Queen from Glaſgow to the neighbourhood of Edinborough on Monday, at once; to lodge her at Craigmillar, two miles from it, inſtead of Kirk-a-field at it; and to keep her there till Thurſday; when it agrees with the journal to conduct her to Edinborough, ſeemingly leaving the king at Craigmillar ſtill, but really taking him with her, no doubt, agreeably to the journal. This, as to the main ſubſtance of it, is obviouſly in a direct and violent contradiction to the journal. Nor can the contradiction be palliated at all. The ſame words occur in the ſame letter, as deſcribed by the commiſſioners at York, from their own inſpection of it. "In ane uther lettre ſent "be Betoun," they ſay, are theſe words: "'Ac-"'cording to my commiſſion, I bring the man "'with me to CRAIGMILLAR upon Munday, "'quhair he will be all Wedniſday, and I will "'gang to Edinburt to draw bluid of me.'"* Indeed the contradiction in the letter to the journal, reſults from an eſſential difference between them, and a difference that is in the very plan and purpoſe of both. In the ſecond letter, the

* Appendix, No. vii.

Queen

Queen delineates her intended route for Craigmillar on the Monday following, intimates her intended ſtay at Craigmillar on Tueſday and Wedneſday, and notes her intended departure from Craigmillar to Edinborough on Thurſday. And in the *ry firſt* letter ſhe is repreſented, as telling the king her deſign of carrying him to Craigmillar; and he is repreſented, as agreeing to it. "I anſwerit," ſhe ſays, "that I wald tak him "with me to CRAIGMILLAR, quhair the medi- "ciner and I micht help him, and not be far "from my ſone. He anſwerit, that he was reddy "when I pleiſit." She alſo ſays in another part of the ſame letter, that the king "ſuld tak me- "dicine and the bath at CRAIGMILLAR."* Here then is an amazing circumſtance. Here are two ſorts of letters, relating the ſame deſign of the Queen's about leaving Glaſgow, relating it preciſely with the ſame reference to her commiſſion, and yet giving it a direction totally different. The truth is, that the route and the time of the journal were calculated for the ten letters only. This is clear from the mention of one letter in the journal, that ſhe ſent to Bothwell on Wedneſday from Linlithgow; when by the preſent letters ſhe was actually at Craigmillar, and had been there ever ſince Monday night. The route and the time of the ten, were ſubſtantially altered from what they appear in the journal, to what they are in the eight; when the former were ſuperſeded by the latter. Yet, as we have equally

* L. i. S. xii. and xxviii.

ſeen

ſeen in other points before, the journal was forgotten to be altered, though the letters were. And, what is ſtill more, the two ſets of letters, that were ſucceſſively produced on the 7th and 8th days of December 1568, appear, in *ſome* of their letters, to have been *both* directed to Bothwell AT THE SAME TIME and FROM THE SAME PLACE, and ſo to have clearly convicted each other of forgery; appear alſo to have related THE VERY SAME CIRCUMSTANCES in THE VERY SAME WORDS, and ſo to have convicted each other of forgery again; appear alſo to have marked THE SAME TIME for the Queen's leaving Glaſgow, but to have carried her from it BY A DIFFERENT WAY, to have brought her TO A DIFFERENT PLACE, and to have kept her AT DIFFERENT PLACES ON THE VERY SAME DAYS, and ſo to have convicted each other of forgery a third time.

I dwell the more circumſtantially upon theſe points, becauſe a new variation ariſes at almoſt every advance, and each unites with each to form ſo many proofs of the general forgery. Whereever we turn our ſteps, we find ourſelves diſappointed in our expectations. The ground is no where ſolid. It ſinks under us, and betrays us. The ſcene before us, alſo, is perpetually ſhifting as we approach, and mocking us. We are walking in fairy land. We are looking at fairy viſions. And we are convinced on every trial, that all is magick and deluſion around us. But I wiſh to contemplate one part of this magical exhibition, before it is entirely withdrawn from the eye, with a little more particularity.

The

The eight letters were finally fixed, as the main ſupports of the accuſation againſt Mary. But they were *five* only at York, and five only for a time at Weſtminſter. And which of the eight were theſe? Let us examine. In the extracts made from them at York, the FIRST of the eight is particularly inſiſted upon. It is made indeed by the commiſſioners, as it was by the rebels themſelves, the central pillar of the whole building. Accordingly very large extracts are given us from it. This then is one of the five. But the commiſſioners immediately proceed to another. From this they give us a couple of extracts. And theſe ſhew it to be the SECOND in the preſent publication. They then give us one extract from another. The paſſage extracted is found in the THIRD.* And all ſhew the three firſt letters in the preſent eight, to have been thoſe which were exhibited at York, three out of the four that were pretended to be written from Glaſgow. But there was a couple of letters more, exhibited at the ſame place. "It appeared unto "us," ſay the commiſſioners, "by TWO letters "of her owne hand, that it was by hir own prac-"tice and conſent, that Bothwell ſhould take her "and carry her to Dunbar."† Theſe therefore were two of the four from Stirling. There were only TWO from Stirling then. But which were they? Reaſon and the journal ſhall unite to tell us. In the delivered tale of the letters from Glaſgow and Stirling reſpectively, the number was accommo-

* Appendix, No. vii. † Ibid. No. v.

dated to the days, and one letter was aſſigned to one day at each place. Thus, as the Queen ſtaid three days at Glaſgow, the 24th, the 25th, and the 26th, of January; ſhe had three letters attributed to her from it. And thus alſo, as ſhe ſpent a ſmall part of one day and the whole of another at Stirling, the evening of Monday, April the 21ſt, and all Tueſday, April the 22d; ſhe was repreſented, as writing two letters from thence. This was a proper courſe of action for the forgers. This indeed was the natural courſe, which they ſhould always have purſued in their forgeries. But they afterwards forgot this obvious principle of propriety. They annexed one more to the original three from Glaſgow. They ſubjoined two more to the previous two from Stirling. They thereby involved themſelves in the great abſurdity, of making the Queen to write FOUR letters to the SAME perſon in THREE days; and in the ſtill greater, of making her write AS MANY afterwards, in only ONE WHOLE DAY and ONE EVENING. And, as they had ſuperadded the FOURTH to the firſt, ſecond, and third; ſo we may be ſure they annexed the SEVENTH and EIGHTH, to the fifth and ſixth. This alſo the journal intimates to us. "April 21. viz. Mounday," it ſays, "the Quene raid to Stirling, as it wes de-"vyſit, and from thence wreyt THE LETTERIS "concerning the purpoſe devyſit of hir raviſhing, "*quhair Huntly cam to hir, and began to repent* "*him.*"* Accordingly we are informed in the

* Appendix, No. x.

fifth,

fifth, that the brother-in-law of Bothwell (he having married Huntly's ſiſter) came to Mary, told her the enterprize ſhe was upon was a fooliſh one, aſſerted ſhe could never with honour marry Bothwell, declared his own followers would never ſuffer Bothwell, even ſeemingly, to ſeize her perſon, and was totally againſt her preſent plan of action. And in the ſixth we are equally informed, that the brother of Bothwell ſtill finds many difficulties in the buſineſs, that ſhe thinks he advertiſes Bothwell of them, and that ſhe apprehends he writes to Bothwell, for directions about them. The firſt, ſecond, and third, the fifth, and the ſixth, therefore, were the letters that were exhibited at York, at Weſtminſter, and at Hampton Court.

The ſame diſquieted ſpirit of villainy, which had planned and fabricated the firſt ſet of letters, only as a proof of murder; which had new-fabricated the ſecond, as evidences of murder and of adultery together; which had written the letters from Glaſgow, Linlithgow, Kirk-a-field, and Stirling; yet had afterwards formed a third ſet, as merely arguments of the adultery and as merely hints of the murder, and had produced five of them, ſtill dated from Glaſgow and from Stirling: this diſquieted and perturbed ſpirit went to work, even now again, when all its operations ſeemed to be for ever precluded, and when the number of theſe books of fate ſeemed to be fixed by the ſeal of deſtiny itſelf. We ſee this Dæmon, even ſo late as the 15th of October 1569, "ſeek-"ing reſt, but finding none." Even then,

Murray

Murray appears adding to the evidences already put in, and ſending up to Cecil the confeſſions of Paris, whom however he had taken care to EXECUTE, as one of the murderers, BEFORE.*

> Was not that nobly done? ay, and wiſely too;
> For 'twould have anger'd any heart alive,
> To hear the man deny it.

This man was living and in priſon, the month of Auguſt before. † Yet it was prudent *not* to produce him in London, as Crawford and Nelſon had been produced. He might have contradicted Murray's aſſertions, then. He could not contradict his depoſitions, now. And accordingly we find theſe depoſitions, which are two in number, lying one of them, the ſecond and principal, in an atteſted copy among Cecil's papers, and ranging with them in the Cotton library, *Caligula, C. i. fol.* 318; while the original has migrated from his collection, and taken ſhelter in the Paper-office: and the other, the firſt, being equally in the Cotton library, but in the original itſelf, *Caligula, B. ix. fol.* 370. ‡ At another period, we know, he delivered in the rebel journal, of which I have made ſo much uſe againſt him. We have no note indeed of the delivery. But we find the journal, like the depoſitions, among Cecil's papers. It is equally lodged with them among the treaſures of the Cotton library, *Caligula, B. ix. fol.* 247. § And

* Goodall, ii. 88. † Ibid. i. 137, and ii. 76.—
‡ Anderſon, ii. Contents, and Goodall, i. 145.
§ Anderſon, ibid. and Goodall, ii. 247.

in

n the ſame un-noticed manner came the fourth, he ſeventh, and the eighth letters into Cecil's poſſeſſion; and ſo were publiſhed, together with the reſt, by him. *

But

* For many years paſt, it has been urged as a popular argument in favour of Mary, that the rebels did not produce Paris at the conferences in England, though they had him then in their cuſtody. The firſt hint of this was ſtarted by Keith in p. 368. It was then enlarged upon very forcibly by Mr. Tytler in p. 119—125. And it has been ſince repeated by Mr. Guthrie, Scotch Hiſt. vii. 185, and by Dr. Stuart, i. 394—395. But the argument, as *thus* directed, muſt be given up. Truth requires me to ſay ſo. Nor would I wiſh, to conceal a ſingle weakneſs in the defence of Mary's honour. Keith aſſerted in p. 366, that in Auguſt 1569 "this man "had been now *full two years and a half* kept in priſon," as if he had been ſeized immediately on the murder of the King; which we know, from the very ſecond of theſe confeſſions (Goodall, ii. 84), as well as from Keith's own hiſtory of the times, to be utterly falſe. Yet Mr. Tytler, from that inattention which will always mark ſome parts of every work, echoes Keith's account in this manner. "*In St. Andrews*," he ſays, Paris "lay *for above two years*;" ſoftening Keith's expreſſions a little, as if he half-ſuſpected them; and adding, that he lay there "during all the time the conferences were "carrying on at York and Weſtminſter." And Dr. Stuart very naturally remarks, juſt as I was going to remark myſelf, upon the credit of both; "that, *at this very time*," the conferences in England, "there was actually in their cuſtody, *in the "priſon of St. Andrew's*,—Nicholas Hubert or French Paris" (i. 394. See alſo 447—448). But where is the proof for any part of this? *When* Paris was firſt ſeized by the rebels, does not appear. Mr. Tytler indeed, in his 3d. edition, p. 147, appeals to "Keith, p. 366," and "Throgmorton's letter, "18th July 1567, paper-office," for his vouchers. Yet the letter is as little a voucher, as Keith. It is the letter, which I have noticed ſo particularly before, and which was publiſhed entire by Robertſon, ii. 374—378, and in the part alluded to

But in preparing theſe additions to the delivered five, for the preſent exhibition of them; the

to by Goodall, i. pref. xvii. This ſhews not Paris to have been then ſeized. It ſhews only Powrie and Dalgleiſhe to have been. Where then ſhall we ſeek for the time of ſeizing Paris? We cannot find it, in the ſeizure of ſo many others of the murderers at the Shetland iſles, when "Grange took" a ſhip on the 1ſt day of September following (Keith, 459), in which were "the laird of Tallow [John Hay], John Hep-"burn of Bautoun,—and *divers others* of the Earl's ſervants" (Melvill 85). Paris was no ſervant to Bothwell then. He was a ſervant to the Queen. Nor was he ſeized, even ſo late as the conference at Weſtminſter; according to the rebel accounts. At this conference they preſented to the commiſſioners, the examinations of Powrie, Dalgleiſhe, Hay, and Hepburn, as taken the 23d and 26th of June, the 3d of July, the 13th of September, and the 8th of December, 1567 (Goodall, ii. 236). "After this," ſay the commiſſioners, "they produced—a copie of *the proces, verdict, and judgment* "againſt the foreſaid John Hayeburn [Hepburn], John "Haye, William Powray, and George Dalglech, as culpa-"ble of the murder" (ibid.). And "after this they produced "—a wryting in a long paper, being, as they ſaid, *the judg-"ment and condemnation by parliament* of the Erle Bothwell, "James Ormeſton, Robert Ormeſton, Patrick Wilſon, and "PARIS A FRENCHMAN, Sym. Armſtrong, and William "Murray, as guilty ſundry wayes of treaſon for the mur-"der" (ibid.). Paris was plainly not a priſoner yet. He was no more a priſoner than Bothwell. He was no more a priſoner than James Ormeſton, who was not taken and executed till ſeveral years afterward (Crawford 310). And Paris, like Ormeſton, was ſeized, I doubt not, ſome months after the conferences in England, and ſome weeks only before he was executed. In ſaying this indeed, I may ſeem to the very zealous friends of Mary, to be more complaiſant than I ought to be, to the teſtimonies of ſuch convicted falſifiers. I would not willingly err in credulity, where I have ſuch evidence of impoſture. Nor would I err in incredulity. I

may

the forger was ſo much in haſte, and ſo little recollected in his dates, that he committed a groſs anachroniſm in one of them; and an anachroniſm, which he could not have committed in a moment of leiſure and reference. The ſeventh letter opens with an addreſs to Bothwell, concerning Huntly. "My Lord," it ſays, "ſen my letter "writtin, zour brother-in-law THAT WAS, come "to me verray ſad." This is a plain anticipation of the divorce, which was afterwards obtained reciprocally by Bothwell againſt his wife, and by the wife againſt Bothwell; ſhe being Lady Jane Gordon, and ſiſter to the Earl of Huntly. Huntly is therefore ſtyled the "brother" of Bothwell, in the letter immediately preceding; and more fully his "brother-in-law," in the letter directly previous to that; both pretending, equally with the preſent, to be written from Stirling, and equally to be written the 21ſt or 22d of April. Yet the divorce did not take place, till SOME DAYS afterwards. And days in this caſe are equal to ages.

Tenth or ten-thouſandth breaks the chain alike.

"April 26th," ſays the very journal of the rebels, "the *firſt* precept of partiſing of the Erle "Bothwell and his wyif," at her ſuit againſt

may doubt their teſtimony. I always doubt it, where it is directedly and pointedly in their favour. This common-ſenſe requires, after ſuch convictions. But then I cannot reject, merely becauſe I doubt. Becauſe I ſuſpect their accounts to be falſe, I cannot aſſume the contrary as true. And in the preſent caſe, where the point is indirectly and by accident only in their favour, I ſee no reaſon for even doubting or ſuſpecting at all.

him, "was direct furth from the commiſſarys "of Edinbrough. 27. The *ſecond* precept of par- "tiſing," at his ſuit againſt her, "beſoir Maiſ- "ter John Manderſtoun, commiſſair to the "biſhop of Sanctandrois, wes direct furth."* In the latter point indeed, the journal is a little wrong. The ſecond precept did not iſſue, even ſo early as April the 27th. We have a cotemporary memoir, which ſhews the fact. It was the commiſſion itſelf, which was dated that day. "The citation by precept" under it, did not iſſue till May the 3d afterwards. † Upon the 29th of April and the 5th of May, was the *firſt hearing* in each; as on May the 3d and the 7th, was *ſentence* pronounced in each for the divorce. ‡ So clearly is the alluſion in the letter, PRIOR to the fact alluded to! Juſt ſuch an anachroniſm as this we have remarked before, in the terms of the rebel journal itſelf; a circumſtance that implies it, like theſe additional letters, to have been finiſhed in haſte, and to have been never reviſed with attention afterwards. And this anachroniſm in the letter, reſulted from the ſame principle of operation in the human mind, as that; the forger having forgotten the artificial combination of ideas for the forgery, therefore ſpeaking unwarily from the natural and the preſent, and ſo making an anticipation, of which he was totally inſenſible at the time.

Yet what was the reaſon, for breaking open the ſeal of deſtiny, as it were, and enlarging the

* Appendix, No. x.

† Robertſon, ii. 449—451. ‡ Ibid. ibid.

number

number of the letters already exhibited? It muſt ſurely have been a very ſtrong one. Nothing leſs than *neceſſity* could have put Murray, upon ſuch a meaſure. And nothing leſs than *neceſſity* can vindicate him in the eyes of policy, for it. He and his compeers had already averred upon their honour, in writing to the commiſſioners of England, That all the papers, which they had produced, were found at one time and in one place. They "were interceptit." they ſay, "and cum to our handis, cloſit within a "ſilver box, in ſic maner as is alredy manifeſtit "and declarit;"* that is, no doubt, though this declaration and manifeſtation are ſince loſt out of Cecil's papers, they were taken with George Dalgleiſh, ſervant to the Earl of Bothwell, upon the 20th of June 1567.† They even produced the ſilver box itſelf, opened it in the preſence of the commiſſioners, and exhibited the contents of it to them.‡ Yet, after all, they produced MORE letters of hers out of it.

* Goodall, ii. 92.

† The friends of Mary think it a circumſtance of a ſuſpectable nature, that this declaration is not to be found among Cecil's papers. I think it merely accidental. And, had it been found, it muſt have ſaid juſt what Murray, Morton, and the journal ſay at preſent, in Goodall, ii. 90, 91, and 250.

‡ Goodall, ii. 379, where Cecil himſelf ſays, "that the "very caſket there," in Buchanan's Detection, "deſcribed, "was here in England ſhewed, and the letters [and] other "monuments opened and exhibited." And Buchanan himſelf ſays in Hiſt. xix. 374, that "arcula demum argentea in "medium eſt allata," and "in eâ inerant literæ," &c.

And they thus betrayed their forgery in the fulleſt manner, to the eyes of Cecil and Elizabeth. But both Elizabeth and Cecil fully knew it before. Murray, therefore, paid little attention to them. Human profligacy *ſometimes* becomes ſo enormous, that men, like devils, have no ſcruple of expoſing their villainies to thoſe, whom they know to be equally villains with themſelves. Yet this is *ſeldom* the caſe on *earth*. There is almoſt always ſome ſmall remainder of virtue, ſome little ſenſibility of religion, ſome faint ſolicitation of ſhame, in the moſt flagitious ſoul of man; that will not let him unneceſſarily expoſe himſelf for a villain, even to a brother or a ſiſter in villainy. He will conceal his flagitiouſneſs, even from ſuch a one. He will conceal it even from himſelf. And he will ſhew that involuntary reſpect to religion at times, as to fancy himſelf not ſo enormous a violator of its laws as others, and to take pride in his leſſer remoteneſs from the influence of it. Murray, therefore, muſt have either reached to that diabolical extremity of wickedneſs, as to have not one particle of ſhame in laying open his own profligacy to Elizabeth, or to have been ſtimulated by ſome ſtrong neceſſity that overpowered it. He certainly had no ſuch neceſſity. The added letters prove nothing more than the others. They do not prove ſo much. They give not even a diſtant hint of the murder. And of the adultery they could tell us no more, than the others had told us before.

From the moment, that Murray reſolved to make the adultery the principal object of the letters,

ters, and the murder to be as a diſtant point in the view, to which the adultery was gradually haſtening; he ſeems to have thought of nothing, but to make the love on the ſide of Mary exceſſive and vehement. He has accordingly ſpread it out ſo thick and ſo broad, upon the face of the firſt five letters; that he has betrayed the groſs hand of forgery, in the fabrication of them. Yet he ſtill went on in the ſame ſtrain, and betrayed himſelf again and again by it. He formed the contracts with this view. And he formed the ſonnets with the ſame view. In the latter indeed, is ſuch a diſguſting appearance of affection, mean, fond, and ſenſitive; that an old maid of forty-five who had never been courted before, would not have ſhewn it to her man, even the evening before her marriage. Yet Murray ſtopped not here. He could not indeed go beyond this high point of fondneſs. He could not draw the melting maid in warmer colours. But he would be painting the ſame ſcene ſtill. And he would be doing it, when every principle of propriety ſhould have kept his hand from the pallet. He accordingly added one letter more, to the three from Glaſgow. This was plainly compoſed, for the ſake of making Mary expreſs her *abjectneſs* of regard in theſe words. "Nouther in that, nor *in ony uther thing*," ſays this pretended Mary, "will *I tak upon me to* "*do ony thing without knawledge of zour will*—." And, "my deir lufe, *ſuffer* me to make zow ſum "prufe be my *obedience*, my faithfulneſs, conſtan-"cie, and *voluntarie ſubjectioun*, quhilk *I tak for* "*the pleſandeſt gude that I micht reſſaif, gif ze will*

" *accept it.*" The ſeventh was written with the peculiar purpoſe, of ſhewing her earneſtneſs from her regard, and her eagerneſs from her fondneſs, to have him ſeize her and carry her off. Nor was there ever a forward girl of eighteen, who was ſickening for the paradiſe of matrimony, and wanted to be *handing* her beloved into a chaiſe for Scotland, more earneſt and more eager in urging him to the expedition. " My lord," ſhe ſays, " ſen my letter writtin, zour brother-in-law that " was, come to me verray ſad, and hes aſkit me " my counſel, quhat he ſuld do efter to morne, " becaus thair be mony folkis heir,— quha wald " rather die,—than ſuffer me to be caryit away—: " he hes *abaſchit me to ſe him ſa unreſolvit at the* " *neid*;— bot I have thocht gude to advertiſe " zow of the feir he hes,— that *ze may have the* " *mair power*; for we had ziſterday mair then " iii. c. hors of his and of Levingſtoun's: FOR " THE HONOUR OF GOD, BE ACCOMPANYIT RA- " THER WITH MAIR THEN LES; for that is THE " PRINCIPAL OF MY CAIR. I—pray God to ſend " US ANE HAPPY ENTERVIEW SCHORTLY."

In both theſe letters, Murray makes this impudent raviſher, Bothwell, to be backward in his return to Mary's advances, in order to ſhew the forwardneſs of Mary the more ſtrongly from it. But the eighth letter goes beyond both. It ſurpaſſes the ſeventh in violence of regard. It exceeds the fourth in ſervility of affection. It is indeed a maſterpiece of meanneſs in love. I ſhall ſelect only two paſſages. " To teſtifie unto " zow," ſhe is made to ſay, " *how lawly I ſub-*

" *mit*

" *mit me under zour commandementis*, I have ſend " zow, *in ſigne of homage*,—the ornament of the " heid." " Without number," ſhe is made to add, " ar *the dreddouris to diſpleis zow*, the *teiris of your* " *abſence*, the *diſdane that I cannot be in outwart* " *effect youris*, as I am without fenzeitnes of hart " and ſpreit; and *of gude reſſoun*, thocht [though] " *my meritis wer mickle greiter* than of the maiſt " profite that ever was, and *ſic as I deſyre to be*, " *and ſall tak pane in conditiounis to imitate*, for to " be *beſtowit worthylie under your regiment*." So exceedingly ſurfeiting of fondneſs, are theſe additional letters made. And ſo exceedingly are they in the ſtyle of a green girl of fifteen, who is juſt beginning to feel the flutter of womanly ſenſations, is writing to her lover of forty with a pen as ready as her tongue, and yet looks up to him with a kind of filial awe. Yet, as all this had been ſaid in the letters before, and ſaid with as much pointedneſs of paſſion in them, and even ſaid with more in the ſonnets; nothing but the raſh intemperance of guilt in Murray, that would be going on with its criminating forgeries, even when it had completed the full ſum of them; and the prompt facility, with which he, and his " brothers of the deep," were able to annex freſh articles at pleaſure to their bill; could have ſeduced him and them, into the infinite folly of making theſe additions to it.

In the firſt form of the letters, the rebels had actually made " as apparent proof" againſt Mary " as might be," concerning the murder. In the ſecond, they had ſoftened theſe apparent proofs

of murder, into a "hatred towards her huſband "to the time of his murder." But then they had interwoven with it "her inordinate love" for Bothwell. In the third, they took up this inferiour idea, and made it ſupreme; keeping the hatred, but placing it inferiour to the other. And this idea they proſecuted with ſuch an activity and perſeverance of ſpirit, in the firſt five letters, in the contracts, in the ſonnets, and in the laſt three, which are all the conſtituent parts of this third creation; that they repeated and redoubled thoſe extravagancies concerning adultery, which they had previouſly fallen into concerning murder; that they twice as much overloaded the evidence now, for *unſealed* letters, and even for ſealed, as ever they had done before; and that they betrayed their own forgery to the notice of every eye, by the retrenchments which they made at one time, and by the additions which they made at another. So difficult is it to be a *guarded* villain; to do the deeds that a Murray did, with a foreſeeing eye and an unſhaking hand; and to be neither expoſed by ſecurity, nor betrayed by cautiouſneſs. Happy is it for the intereſts of man, during his ſhort hour of reſidence upon earth, that this is the caſe. May the future Murraies of mankind ever find it experimentally to be ſo! And may thoſe wretched traitors to the world, who with a maſque upon their face, a dagger in one hand, and a poiſoned bowl in the other, are perpetually deſtroying the peace of their brethren, for the ſake of diſtinction among them; learn to ſhrink back from the painful pre-eminence

nence to which they are aſpiring, and be glad to ſettle into good citizens, good men, and good chriſtians.*

CHAP-

* Dr. Robertſon, in his Diſſertation concerning theſe letters, ſays thus (p. 36): "It is evident from a declaration "or confeſſion made by the Biſhop of Roſs, that before [rather, at] the conferences at York,—Mary had, by an artifice of Maitland's, *got into her hands a copy of the letters*—. "Brown's Trial of the Duke of Norfolk, 31, 36." This is aſſerted upon ſeemingly good authority. Yet it is *not* true. That Maitland, or Lethington (as he is generally called), was a friend to Mary *at* the York conference, is very plain from a variety of teſtimonies. He ſhewed his friendſhip, in the private intelligence hinted at in Goodall, ii. 159—160, and in other ways. Yet he ſent her no copy of the letters. This is very clear. Had he ſent her one, it muſt naturally have been conveyed by, and it muſt certainly have been known to, that very Biſhop of Roſs, who is here ſaid to have evidenced his conveyance of a copy to Mary, who was the great manager of her concerns at York, and who was actually engaged in ſome intrigues with him and the Duke of Norfolk there (Robertſon, c. ii. 388—389, and 397, and Salmon's State Trials, 22). But that very Biſhop of Roſs appears deciſively from his own memorial of December 17, 1568, to have had no copy *then*. He had gained, and from Lethington probably, ſome very particular intelligence concerning the letters. But he had no copy, Not afraid to uſe his intelligence ever in an addreſs to Elizabeth, he tells her, as we have already ſeen, that the letters "contain na dait of zeir, "moneth, or day." But, if he had ſeen a copy, he could not have ſaid this. At York all the letters were dated. And the ſecond was ſo at Weſtminſter, and is ſo ſtill. He ſays alſo, that "in the ſamin thair is na mentioun maid of ony beirar." (Goodall, ii. 389). Yet the firſt and the laſt openly intimate *Paris* to be the bearer, and the ſecond ſays expreſsly that *Beaton* was. And theſe perſons are noticed accordingly by the commiſſioners at York, to be the mentioned bearers of the firſt and ſecond (Appendix, No. vii.). All that Lethington did therefore, before, at, or after the conference at York,

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1.

I HAVE now ſtated to my reader a multiplicity of variations, in the form and ſubſtance of the written teſtimony againſt Mary. Each of theſe caſts a very ſtrong colouring of for-

York, as late as the 17th of December, 1568, was not to convey a copy to Mary or Mary's commiſſioners, but merely to give intelligence concerning them. Yet Dr. Robertſon adds thus: "It is highly probable, that the Biſhop of Roſs "had ſeen the letters, before he wrote the Defence of Queen "Mary's Honour in the year 1570." Before, it was "evi-"dent" that Mary had got a copy of the letters, previous to the York conference. Now it is but "highly probable," that the very man, by whoſe agency principally *all* Mary's concerns were managed, and from whoſe declaration alone the Doctor ſays it is "evident," had ſeen a copy, *not* before the York conference in 1568, but before he publiſhed his Defence in 1570. So much does the current *diminiſh* in its progreſs! Nor is the ſecond aſſertion one tittle truer than the firſt. It is very clear, and it is very remarkable, that the biſhop had not ſeen a copy, even ſo late as the publication of his Defence. This appears from his repeating in his Defence the ſame miſtakes concerning the letters, which he originally made in his memorial. He ſtill aſſerts, that "there "appeareth neither date, wherein they were dated, neither "day nor moneth." And, as he ſubjoins, "there is no "mention made of the bearer, who is, as it may be ſup-"poſed, for any name he beareth, the man in the moon" (Anderſon, i. 18—19, Defence of Q. Mary's Honour). So ignorant were Mary and her commiſſioners kept to the laſt, concerning the letters!

gery

gery over it. But the laſt particularly does ſo. Every one of the reſt ſtands only as a ſingle witneſs, againſt the authenticity of the papers. But this infolds ſeveral within it. This has proved a kind of polypus upon trial. Merely one in appearance, it has ſhot out into many in fact. The parts of it, as they have been detached from one another, have each formed a ſeparate whole. And the ſpuriouſneſs of the writings has appeared with evidence crowding upon evidence, from this and from all.

Yet there is ſtill another variation behind. This is equally apparent upon the face of the hiſtory. It is not indeed *ſuch* a *pregnant* variation, as the laſt. Yet it is a pregnant one. And it is much more important than any. I have therefore kept it to the laſt.

We have already ſeen the letters varying, in the very aim and object of them. We have alſo ſeen them varying, in the ſubſcriptions. We have ſeen them varying too, in their directions, in their dates, and even in their number. But we ſhall now behold them varying, in the very LANGUAGE in which they were written. This muſt ſeem aſtoniſhing to my reader, at firſt. But it is undoubtedly true. And it is an incident very natural to knavery. The man that wants to exert his frauds of gambling upon the world, and therefore is conſtantly moving about from Bath to the Spa, from the Spa to Montpelier, and from Montpelier to Bareges, from the one to the other of thoſe ſcenes of general aſſembly, where idleneſs is ſure to generate play, and where the liſtleſneſs

of ill health thinks itſelf compelled, to call in the gentle agitation of games of chance; ſuch a man appears ſometimes in this diſguiſe of impoſition, and ſometimes in that. A citizen of Europe at large, and ſpeaking two or three of its principal dialects, he is ſucceſſively a German Count, a French Marquis, or an Engliſh Lord. Juſt ſo, and with worſe than the knavery of ſuch a knight of induſtry as this, did the letters, which pretended to be written by Mary, appear at one time in the language of France, and at another in the dialect of Britain. They were Scotch, they were French, juſt as ſuited the preſent purpoſe. Nor did this happen only in the *aſſertions* of their holders. It was alſo true in *fact*. The letters underwent *a real* alteration in their language. And what had been purely Scotch for weeks and months together, turned out finally to be French.

But how is this ſurpriſing phœnomenon to be accounted for? Shall we ſuppoſe, when Murray firſt diſcovered the letters in the ſilver coffer, that a pair of falſifying ſpectacles, through which he read them, threw a ſtrange gloſs over the lines, and made him miſtake the French for Scotch; that he afterwards lent the ſame ſpectacles to his brother counſellors, and they were equally deceived by the ſame gloſs; and that at laſt, by the accidental change of the ſpectacles, the impoſition was detected, and the French appeared to every eye? Or, as this may ſeem too extravagant to be believed by any *but an enemy of Mary's*, ſhall we preſume her to have known the modern ſecret of writing *inviſible* letters of intelligence,

ıce, to have transferred this grand *arcanum* ı the buſineſs of ſpies to the commerce of , to have therefore written ſome apparent ; in Scotch, to have then inſerted between ı ſome imperceptible lines in French, and ave done both with their proper ſorts of *ſym-etick ink?* And ſhall we preſume Murray, r he had long conſidered the Scotch as the le of the letters, to have ſuſpected the impo-ın, to have applied the proper *lixivium*, and ıave ſeen his ſucceſs, in the inſtant evaneſcence he Scotch from the paper, and in the imme-e emerſion of the French out of its inviſibility? e fact certainly is, that the Scotch *did* diſap-r from under the eye, and that the French *was* nd in its place.

Nor let it be ſuſpected, that a circumſtance of h a nature, and ſo completely unnoticed by er writers, cannot poſſibly be true in itſelf, or ınot poſſibly be proved to be ſo with any de-e of certainty. It is wholly unnoticed. Yet s true. It may alſo be proved to be ſo, to a h, and even to a very high, degree of certainty. ledge myſelf to prove it. I proceed to do

For that purpoſe, I ſhall go back to the ınd æra of the hiſtory preceding. I ſhall dwell ticularly upon ſome points, that I have been liged to mention before. I ſhall call others into ht, that I have carefully kept under cover herto. And I ſhall thus conclude all the ar-ments, which I wanted to produce in vindica-n of Mary, within the compaſs of the preſent lume; referring a variety of others, with the ters and ſonnets and contracts themſelves, to e two next volumes.

WHEN

§ II.

WHEN the letters were reported in their ideal form to Throgmorton, when they were actually preſented to the council, and when they were actually produced before the parliament; they were compoſed in the language of the iſland. They were Scotch letters, written by a Scotch Queen to a Scotch Earl. They were reported by a Scotch rebel, to an Engliſh embaſſadour in Scotland. And they were exhibited to a council and a parliament of Scotch.

Accordingly, when Throgmorton ſpeaks of them, he gives us not the ſlighteſt intimation, that they were written in any language different from the language of the country. Had they been intended to be ſo, his informant muſt naturally have noticed the fact to him. This is ſtrongly exemplified in Murray's own report concerning them, after they had put on their *French face*. "We producit," he ſays, "eight letteris IN "FRENCH, written by the Quenis awin hand."* He is *now* particular enough, we ſee, to mark the French language of them. He could not well be otherwiſe. And Lethington, who was the perſon undoubtedly that informed Throgmorton, muſt naturally have been equally particular, if the letters had been equally in French. He had even more occaſion to be ſo, than Murray. The latter was delivering inſtructions to a man, who had aſſiſted him in all his operations at the

* Appendix, No. xi.

conference,

conference, who had united in preſenting the letters to the commiſſioners, and who therefore knew the language of them as well as himſelf.* But the former was ſpeaking to a perſon, who knew nothing previouſly, and who could know nothing at the time, except from his own information. Yet he ſaid not, though Murray does, that the letters were in French. Throgmorton's account of the information runs merely in theſe terms. "I do perceive," he remarks, "if theſe "men cannot by fair means induce the Queen "to their purpoſe, they mean to charge her with "the murder of her huſband, whereof (they ſay) "they have as apparent proof againſt her as may "be,—by the teſtimony of her own hand-writing, "which they have recovered." And every reader of this account muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, as Throgmorton muſt have equally ſuppoſed himſelf, that "the hand-writing which they had re-"covered" was in the common language of the country.

But the real letters were afterwards laid before the council and the parliament. They are accordingly noticed in the books of both. They are there noticed, juſt as we have ſeen them in Throgmorton's account before, without any ſpecification of the language. They were, therefore, in the common language of the iſland ſtill. The council deſcribes them, as "divers hir pre-"vie lettres writtin and ſubſcrivit with hir awin "hand;" and the parliament characterizes them,

* Goodall, ii. 93, 109, 206, 207, and 84.

as

as "divers hir previe letteris writtin halelie "with hir awin hand."

In the council there were probably ſeveral, who underſtood not the French language. In the parliament there were certainly many. That all the counſellors of Scotland ſhould be acquainted with French, is utterly incredible for any period, even of Mary's or her mother's government. We particularly know, that *ſome* of the rebel counſellors were not. We have already ſeen Mr. James Makgill, to be a man of conſiderable conſequence among the rebels. He was even of ſo much, that he was ſent on the 14th of Auguſt, 1567, together with the Earl of Morton, the Earl of Glencairn, and the juſtice-clerk, to wait upon the French embaſſadour, and to return an anſwer to the meſſage which the latter had brought, concerning the impriſonment of Mary. Yet we have a plain proof, that even he was not acquainted with French. "Monſ. de Lynerol," ſays Throgmorton,—"re-"quired,—that he might have in writing what "had been ſaid by the ſaid Mr. James Macgill "(who pronounced all the premiſes in *the Scottiſh* "*tongue*), which, upon the ſaid de Lynerol's deſire, was *interpreted into French* by the juſtice-clerk."* But a grand revolution had now taken place. In ſuch a fermentation, we know, the *fæces Romuli* of every community work up to the ſurface. Zeal and activity recommend to offices, in preference to rank and title. Some of the lower orders of life, therefore, are raiſed to the higher departments of the ſtate. And, in this political

* Keith, 444.

kind

kind of regeneration, ſome would naturally be made counſellors, who had never learned French. But in the parliament there muſt have been numbers. Some, ſeveral, perhaps many, of the Lords; moſt, if not all, the knights; and all the burgeſſes to a man, I ſuppoſe; would range on the long liſt. We actually find one *baron* and many *gentlemen* at this period, who had not only *not* learned French, who had not even learned Scotch, who could not even write their own names. * Yet to theſe members of the council and the parliament, as well as to others, were the letters produced. Theſe were called upon equally with the others, to hear the letters, to conſider them as ſubſtantial evidences of murder againſt Mary, and to require the ſeals of ſome of the principal perſons in each parliamentary eſtate, to be put to the law, that paſſed in conſequence of them. It was reſolved in the council, that "a parte of the three Eſtats,—Prellats, "Biſhoppes, Greit Barrons, and Burgeſſes, gif "thair ſelis heirupon." It was accordingly decreed in parliament, that "ane pairt of the three "Eſtatis,—Prelatis, Biſchopis, Greit Barronis, "and Burgeſſis, gaif thair ſeillis thairupon." †

* Anderſon, ii. 233, "Michael Lord Carleyll, with my "hand at the pen, Al. Hay, Notarius;" 235, 238, 239, and 240. And "moſt of theſe ſubſcribers," ſays Anderſon in Gen. Preface, xxxvii, were parliamentary men.

† Goodall, ii. 65, 69, and 234. A few of each eſtate ſet to their private ſeals, in ſign of the concurrence of the reſt. "Certain of the nobles," ſays Randolph to Cecil, Aug. 10, 1560, "ſubſcribe unto them, and put to their ſeals." Robertſon, ii. 321. And the number is "ſex of the principale of "every eſtate," Keith, 76.

" ten by the ſaid Quene, wherin, as they ſaid, " might appear very evidently her inordinate " love towards the ſaid Erle Bothwell, with ſun- " dry other arguments of her guiltynes of the " murder of her huſband: And ſo therupon " they produced ſeven ſeveral wrytings wrytten " in *French*, in the lyke Romain hand as others " her letters, which were ſhewed yeſternight, and " avowed by them to be wrytten by the ſaid " Quene; which ſeven wrytings being copied " were read in *French*." * Here the oppoſition in the language is manifeſt, betwixt the letters of December the 8th, and the letters of December the 7th. *Thoſe* are particularly noted to have been *French*. *Theſe* were therefore Scotch.

But we ſee it ſtill more plainly in the rebel journal. " January 27," it ſays, " the Quene (CONFORME TO HIR COMMISION, AS SHE WRYTTIS) " brought the King from Glaſcow—towards Edyn- " brough." That letter of the ten, which is here referred to, had evidently ſome words in it concerning " hir commiſſion." They accordingly appear in one of the preſent letters, and run thus: " According to my commiſſioun, I " bring the man with me," &c. † And thus one of the ten was apparently compoſed in the Scottiſh language.

There is alſo in the journal another intimation, which relates to another of theſe letters. " Jan. " 24th," the journal tells us, " the Quene re- " maynit at Glaſcow, lyck as ſhe did the 25th and " the 26th, and hayd the conference with the King

* Appendix, No. viii. † See Let. ii. in volume 2d.

" whereof

" whereof ſhe wryttis; and in this tyme wrayt " hir BYLLE and uther letteris to Bothwell."* The ſingular appellation of *bill* for one of Mary's letters from Glaſgow, given with ſo much eaſe, and given as a diſcriminating note of that letter from the reſt, was plainly borrowed from the pretended Mary herſelf, who expreſsly calls her firſt letter a *bill*. Mr. Goodall indeed, who was the firſt that obſerved this derivation of the name from the one to the other, has very juſtly remarked the word, by an accidental error of the preſs, to have been ſtrangely altered into *bible*. " I am gangand," ſays the Mary of the forgers, " to ſeik myne [repoſe] till the morne, quhen I " ſall end my *bybill*."† If the firſt *l* in the word *bylle*, as Mr. Goodall very properly adds in order to account for this wild transformation, has the hair-ſtroke at the lower end turned up a little; or if a ſmall ſpot of ink touches it; the word immediately lengthens into *byble*.‡ The vicious reading therefore is ſufficient of itſelf, and with the aid of the journal is more than ſufficient, to proclaim the genuine and original reading. All long writings, whether letters or not, were then denominated *bills*; as the ſhort are denominated *bill-ets* to this day. Accordingly, the firſt letter is peculiarly called by Mary her *bylle*, as it is a remarkably long one; and is actually aſſerted by the commiſſioners at York, to be " one horrible and *long* " letter."§ And thus another of the ten is demonſtrated to have been written in the Scotch.

* Appendix, No. x. † L. i. S. xix. in v. 2d.
‡ Goodall, i. 86 and 87. § Appendix, No. v.

Thoſe epiſtles then, which were dated immediately by the dates in the journal, which are referred to ſo ſpecifically in the terms of the journal, and which were the ſecond ſet of letters againſt Mary, the ten of Morton's receipt, and the companions and mirrours to the eight at Weſtminſter, were demonſtrably written in Scotch. In Scotch they were, when they were preſented to the council and parliament. In Scotch they alſo were, when the journal was completed. And in Scotch they continued to be, when they appeared with the French eight at Weſtminſter.

§ III.

THUS were the firſt and the ſecond ſet of letters againſt Mary, both, equally in the Scottiſh language! Thus did the pretended treaſures of the gilt box prove to be SCOTTISH letters, for SIX WHOLE MONTHS after the box and its treaſures had been intercepted by the rebels! Nor would there ever have been any other letters, if Mary had not eſcaped from Lochlevin; if with a generous confidence, that never yet was the portion of flagitiouſneſs, ſhe had not thrown herſelf upon the compaſſion, the honour, and the friendſhip of Elizabeth; and if Elizabeth, with a baſeneſs that is at once illuſtrated and aggravated by that generoſity, had not founded upon it the infamous project, of loading Mary with a charge of murder, under pretence of adjuſting her differences with her rebels. This project ſet all the wheels of Murray's machines to work. That fabrick of terrour, which had been erected before

for

for the purpoſe of terrifying Mary by the parliament; and had been forced to be buttreſſed, even for its ſhort hour of exhibition, by the proviſional conſpiracy againſt the life of Mary; would not bear to be tranſported into England, and ſhewn to the commiſſioners there. A new one muſt be formed, that would ſtand of itſelf, and bear more inſpection. A new ſet of letters was fabricated. The ten were reduced at firſt to five, and then multiplied again into eight. And, what was much more, the language of all was reſolved to be changed. That ſuch a violent alteration as this ſhould be meditated, ſeems very extraordinary. But it was ſuggeſted by the everlaſting anxiety of guilt. Knavery, ever watching the movements of its own ſhadow, ſuſpicion, whiſpered in ſecret to its palpitating heart; that letters UNSEALED, and written in the common language of the country, might indeed by the impreſſion of that ſtrong conviction, which was employed to enforce them in Scotland, be admitted as evidences of adultery and murder there; but would be rejected as abſolutely incredible in England, where ſuch a conviction could not be employed, and ſuch an impreſſion would not be made. In England, Murray could no longer command ſilence from fear. In England, he could no longer generate credulity by enthuſiaſm. In the land of ſoberneſs and freedom, the mode of conveying the letters would be ſeverely canvaſſed, and might perhaps lead to a detection at once. They were therefore to be re-formed. And they were to appear for the future, in FRENCH.

But the time was too preſſing for their immediate departure, to allow a ſufficient interval of preparation for their French appearance. Mary threw herſelf into the inhoſpitable arms of England, on the 16th of May, 1568. Murray inſtantly ſent up proper inſtructions to his agent in London, Mr. John Wood, for intercepting all returns of kindneſs from Elizabeth to her. He, therefore, offered to vindicate the whole of his proceedings againſt her. And he ſent up the letters as his vindication. Elizabeth inſtantly, with all the promptneſs of a ſoul that had run a long career of policy and unfeelingneſs, cloſed with his offer. So early as the 8th of June ſhe replied to it, and accepted it. "By your ſervant Mr. John Wood," ſhe ſays, "we have underſtood your offer, to "make declaration unto us of your whole do-"ings."* Murray rejoined to this addreſs on the 22d of June following. "For our offer," he ſays, "to mak her Majeſtie declaratioun of our "haill doingis, anent that quhair-with the Quene, "our ſouverane lordis mother, chargis us;—we "have ALREDDY ſent unto our ſervand Mr. Jhone "Wode, that quhilk we traiſt ſall ſufficiently "reſolve hir Majeſtie, of ony thing ſcho ſtandis "doubtful unto." This which he had already ſent, he tells us afterwards, was "ſic LETTERIS "as we haif of the Quene, our ſoverane lordis "mother, that ſufficientlie, in our opinioun, "preivis hir conſenting to the murthure of the "king hir lauchful huſband."† So ſuddenly had

* Appendix, No. iii. † Ibid. ibid.

Murray

Murray thought himſelf obliged to diſpatch the letters away for London! He had no time, therefore, for tranſmuting the Scotch of them into French. He had not even reſolved upon the tranſmutation *then*. He had actually ſent them up in their native dreſs, without any intimation that it was a foreign one. They were yet in the Scotch language. "Our ſervand Mr. Jhone "Wode," as Murray adds, "hes the copies of "the ſamin letteris—IN OUR LANGUAGE."* And the letters continued to be SCOTCH, for MORE THAN A TWELVEMONTH POSTERIOUR TO THE DISCOVERY OF THEM. But a reſolution being taken before the 22d of June to put the letters into French, and theſe having been already ſent up in Scotch; what was to be done, in order to purſue the reſolution and to conceal the change? This was a preſſing difficulty. How ſhall Murray wind himſelf out of it? The letters are gone in Scotch. They cannot be recalled to be Frenchified. How then ſhall the new plan of operations be executed? It was executed thus. And this hero in artifice only ſhines the more from his trials. He *enters* upon his meaſures immediately. He may afterwards *proſecute* them effectually. He ſpeaks of the Scotch originals in London, as merely *a tranſlation from another language*. "Our ſervand Mr. Jhone Wode," he ſays in his verbal diſpatch of the 22d of June, "hes the copies of the ſamin letteris TRANSLATIT "in our language." This marks the com-

* Appendix, No. iii.

mencement

mencement of the plan, for the French appearance of the letters. And it forms a very important epocha, in the annals of them.

But it was attended with a groſs abſurdity. If ſuſpicion be the ſhadow of guilt, folly forms half of its ſubſtance. A ſudden change from one mode of impoſition to another, is ſure to betray its knavery by its folly. And we have ſeen the obſervation repeatedly exemplified, in the variations of the letters before. The rebels are now to exemplify it once again. They ſend a *tranſlation* of the letters, to prove a horrible imputation upon their Queen; when they profeſs to have the *originals*. They ſend letters to Elizabeth, that pretend to be the *handwriting* of Mary, and that, from her handwriting and her *words*, are to ſubſtantiate a charge of murder againſt her; and yet ſend them *without* any of her handwriting, and even *without* any of her words, in them. This is the very ſtep and gait of villainy. It is all artificial and unnatural. Murray betrayed his villainy by it, to every eye except his own. The hunted oſtrich thruſts his head into a buſh for ſhelter, and never reflects on his expoſed carcaſe behind. And men long practiſed in the habits of diſſimulation, in conſtraining the honeſty of nature within the trammels of knavery, and in torturing man into a fraudulent over-reacher of his brethren, ſeem at length to loſe their diſcernment by the very exerciſe of it, to forget what is natural amidſt their attention to artificial operations, and to confound their underſtandings in the tangles and mazes of their cunning.

THUS

§ IV.

THUS had Murray determined to appear againſt Mary, in the preſence of Elizabeth's commiſſioners, with a ſet of French letters. Thus had he even announced his intentions, in a formal manner, to Elizabeth herſelf. Yet, after all, he remained dubious about it. Appear againſt her he muſt. But whether he ſhall appear with French or with Scotch letters, he cannot decide at preſent. We therefore ſee him at this period, ridiculouſly ſuſpended in his conduct, betwixt his reaſons and his annunciation upon one ſide, and ſome counter-reaſons, that now preſented themſelves to his imagination, on the other. The wavering balance continued to incline ſucceſſively both ways. And at laſt it ſettled into its primary inclination, in favour of Scotland.

When Murray reſolved upon French letters, he did it in one of thoſe ſudden impulſes of conviction, that frequently ruſh in at once upon the thinking mind, and ſeem to be the momentary irradiations of ſome opening ſun within it. The abſurdity of ſending ſuch letters unſealed, and in the ordinary language of the country, flaſhed all at once upon his underſtanding. He muſt ſtill ſend them unſealed. He could not ſupply the defect of Mary's ſignet. But he could alter the letters accordingly. He had already done ſo in the dates, the ſubſcriptions, and the directions. And, the moment this new conviction darted

darted in upon him, he reſolved to make another and a grander alteration, by changing the language. As the ſame principle had already put him upon other reformations of the letters, it was ſure to operate *firſt* upon his ſpirit at preſent, and to put him upon this, the greateſt of all. A Frenchman, indeed, appeared to be the bearer of two of the letters.* But a Scotchman appeared to be the carrier of another.† And Scotchmen muſt be preſumed to be the conveyers of all the reſt. With this conviction acting forcibly on his mind, he had ſaid what he *had* ſaid to Elizabeth's agent on the 22d of June. Yet when the agent was gone back to London, and Murray had leiſure to think over the whole matter comprehenſively, he began to heſitate betwixt contrary convictions. He beholds abſurdity encountering abſurdity. And how ſhall he win his way through them unhurt? That the letters were in Scotch at the time of their appearance before the parliament, muſt have been known to all who ſaw or who heard them there, and through them to the whole nation. If the letters ſhould now make their appearance in French, the commiſſioners of Mary would certainly, with every ſeal of ſecrecy that could be ſtamped upon the proceeding, come to the knowledge of it. And they would be happy to catch at ſuch a damning proof of forgery as this, and to trumpet it round the iſland. This was a very powerful principle of attraction, towards the old ſyſtem of Scotch letters. But then there

* Paris of the 1ſt and 8th. † Beaton of the 2d.

was

was an equally powerful one, in favour of the new ſyſtem of French. He had increaſed the influence of the latter too, by the meſſage which he had ſent to Elizabeth. And from the mutual counteraction of both, a third principle was generated, which kept him from following either, and made him move *in circulo* a while.

The ſame apprehenſiveneſs, which put him upon thinking to make his letters French, put him equally upon adding other writings to them. *Thoſe* were to be new-dreſſed for the new exhibition, which they were to make upon the theatre of England. *Theſe* were to enlarge the number of the *Dramatis Perſonæ* there. He therefore formed a couple of marriage-contracts for Mary. He alſo formed one long ſonnet for her. And he ſubjoined a new ſet of letters to both. But *how* did he execute his purpoſe? With a fair equipoiſe of affection for Scotland and for France. One of the contracts was drawn up in Scotch, and the other in French. In French was the ſonnet compoſed. But in Scotch were the letters written. So apparently was the mind of Murray, at this period, hanging *in medio* betwixt Scotland and France;

Like Mahomet's tomb, 'twixt earth and heaven!

That the ſonnets were written originally in French, was formerly denied with ſtrenuouſneſs by the partiſans of Mary. It is now admitted with faintneſs only. But it is exceedingly clear in itſelf. They are attended indeed, like the letters, by a Scotch copy. But the copy is demonſtrably a tranſlation. This the whole air and complexion of the language ſhews. This the rythmical

rythmical nature of the *ſtanzas* in the one, and the un-rythmical courſe of the *lines* in the other, deciſively proves. And I need only refer my reader to the *firſt* ſtrophe of both in the third volume, in order to convince him at a glance, that the French is the original, that the Scotch is a tranſlation, and that it is a flat, a verbal, and a vicious one.*

But the five letters, which were now to be preſented together with the ſonnets in England, were not, like them, in French. They ſhould have been, in conformity to the plan of June the 22d above. They ſhould have been, in correſpondence to that partial execution of it in the ſonnets. Yet they were not. The principle, which had produced the ſonnets, was deſerted in the letters. And Murray ſettled again upon his original ground, in a ſet of Scotch letters.

§ v.

THE exhibition of the writings againſt Mary, was determined by Elizabeth to be made at York. Formal preparations were accordingly made for the purpoſe. The theatre was opened. The actors were ready. And the curtain was juſt beginning to riſe; to diſplay the caſket of Mary, like Portia's in the play; and to invite the commiſſioners ſolemnly to the ſight. But lo! juſt at the critical moment, Murray ſteps out upon the ſtage, like an old prologue, and ſhews all the

* It is but juſtice to Dr. Robertſon to obſerve, that he was the firſt, who argued the ſonnets to have been originally French, and who uſed this kind of arguments to prove them ſo. See his Diſſertation, 33—34.

ſubſtance of the play before-hand. On the 10th of October he delivered the letters, ſonnets, and contracts, privately to the commiſſioners. They noticed them however, even in this clandeſtine production of them, with an attention, which was very proper in itſelf, and is peculiarly uſeful to us. They firſt gave a general account of each of them, in a diſpatch to Elizabeth. They then added an analyſis of the three principal of them. To both, they ſubjoined a long ſeries of extracts from the three. Theſe extracts are peculiarly important to our preſent purpoſe. They indicate the language of all at this period, beyond a poſſibility of doubt. And I ſhall lay this very deciſive, though thitherto unobſerved, teſtimony concerning it, in its full force before my readers.

The commiſſioners form what they call, "notes "drawin furth of the Quenis lettres ſent to the "Erle Bothwell." In theſe they give us extracts, out of each of the three firſt letters in the preſent publication. They particularly dwell upon the firſt. Its contents and its length demanded this attention at their hands. And I ſhall therefore dwell upon it too.

"Imprimis," they ſay of the firſt, "after lang "diſcourſe of hir," Mary's, "conference with "the king hir huſband in Glaſcow, ſche wreitis "to the ſaid Erle IN THIR [theſe] TERMES." They then begin their extracts. The firſt runs thus: "'This is my firſt jurnay, I ſall end the ſame the "'morne; I wreite in all thingis, howbeit they be "'of littill weycht, to the end that ye may tak "'the beſt of all to judge upoun; I am in doing "'ane

"" ane wark heir, that I haitte gretlie: Haif ye "" not deſyre to lauche, to ſie me lie ſa weill, at "" the leiſt to diſſemble ſo weill, and to tell him "" the treuth betwix handis.'" They immediately add this remark and this extract. " Item," they ſay, " ſhortly after: "" We are coupled with "" twae fals racis; the devill ſyndere us, and God "" mot knit us togidder for ever, for the maiſt "" faithful cupple that ever he unitit; this is my "" faith, I will die in it.'" They directly proceed to this paſſage, and preface it in this manner: " Item, thairefter, "" I am not weill at eaſe, "" and zeit verray glaid to wreit unto you quhen "" the reſt are ſlepand, ſen that I cannot ſleip as "" they do, and as I wald deſyir, that is in your "" armis, my deir luife.'" Theſe, I ſuppoſe, are ſufficient to prove my point concerning the firſt letter. But, that I may not leave one ſingle ſhade of doubt upon the mind of my reader, I ſhall lay a couple of extracts more before him. The weight of the argument will not be really increaſed by them. One paſſage from one letter would ſuffice for that. But the impreſſion upon the mind will be the greater. And this ſhould be conſidered by an author, as well as the other. " Item," the commiſſioners proceed, " thus ſche " concludis the lettre: "" Wareit mocht this "" pokiſhe man be, that cauſes me haif ſa meikill "" pane, for without hym I wald haif ane far "" mair pleſant ſubject to diſcourſe upoun: He "" is not oer meikle ſpilt, but he has gottin verray "" mekill; he has almaiſt ſlane me with his braith; "" it is war nor your unclis, and zeit I cum na

"" neirar,

"" neirar, bot ſat in ane cheir at the bed-fute, "" and he beand at the uther end thairof."" And, as they go on, "Item, Thairefter, "" ye gar me "" diſſemble ſa far, that I haif horring thairat, "" and ze caus me almaiſt do the office of an "" trahatores: Remember yow, yf it wer not to "" obey yow, I had raither be deid, or I did it; my "" heart blidis at it: Summa, he will nat cum "" with me, except upon conditioun that I ſall "" be at bed and bourd with hym as of befoir, "" and that I ſall leif hym na efter.""

But I have tired myſelf, and, I ſuppoſe, my reader, by giving theſe extracts. Yet there are no leſs than ſix more behind. Thoſe will ſhew however, in the moſt demonſtrative manner, that the FIRST letter continued to be Scotch as late as the conference at York. And, if the firſt was, we may be ſure the reſt were too. But let us not leave the point upon inferences, when we can fix it upon poſitive proofs. The ſame chain of evidence extends ſtill farther. And it carries the ſame electrical ſtroke of conviction, from the ſecond and the third letters, as well as the firſt.

The commiſſioners enter upon the ſecond letter thus: "Item, in ane uther letter ſent be Betoun: "" As to me, howbeit I heir noe farther newes "" from yow, according to my commiſſion, I "" bring the man with me to Craigmillar upon "" Munday, quhair he will be all Wedniſday; "" and I will gang to Edinburt to draw bluid of "" me, gif in the mene tyme I get no newes in the "" contrair from yow."" They go through with it thus: "Item, Verray ſchortlie after: "" Summa,

"" ye will ſay he makis the court to me, of the "" quhilk I tak ſo gret pleſeur, that I enter never "" quhair he is, bot incontinent I tak the ſeiknes "" of my ſyde, I ame ſoe faſchit with it; yf Pa- "" reis bring me that quhilk I ſend hym for, I "" treaſt it ſall amend me: I pray yow adverteis "" me of your newes at length, and quhat I ſall "" do in caice ye be not returnit quhen I cum "" thair; for, in cais ye work not wyſelie, I ſie "" that the haill burthin of this will fall upon my "" ſchulderis; provyde for all thingis, and diſ- "" courſe upon it firſt yourſelf.""

Theſe paſſages ſhew the SECOND letter to have been, equally with the firſt, continued in the Scotch language, even down to the exhibition of both at York. But let us now apply the *conductor* to the THIRD letter. And we ſhall ſee the ſame ſparks of light, iſſuing with the ſame ſtrength and loudneſs from it.

The commiſſioners advance up to it, in this manner. " Item," they ſay, " in ane uther let- " tre: "" I pray yow, according to your promeis, "" to diſcharge your hart to me, utherwayis I will "" think that my malheure, and the guide com- "" poſing of thame, that hes not the third part of "" the faythfull and willing obedience unto yow "" that I beyre, has wyne, againis my will, that "" advantage over me quhilk the ſecund luif of "" Jaſon wan; not that I wolde compair yow to "" ane ſa unhappie as he was, nor yit myſelf to "" ane ſoe unpetifull a woman as ſche; howbeit "" ye cauſe ma be ſumquhat lyck unto hir in ony "" thing that twichis yow, or that may preſerve

"" and

"" and keip yow to hir, to quhome ye onlie ap-
"" pertein, yf it may be ſuer that I may appro-
"" priat that quhilk is wonne throuche faythfull,
"" yea only luifing yow, quhilk I do and ſall do
"" all the dayis of my lyif, for pane and evil
"" that can cum thereof: In recompenſe of the
"" quhilk, and of all the evil quhilks ye haif bein
"" cauſe of to me, remember yow upon the place
"" heir beſyd, &c.'"*

The three firſt letters, then, were demonſtrably written in the Scotch language. They are evidenced to have been ſo, by the luſtre of their own light. Nor let any attempts be made to ſhroud this ſun, which ſhines ſo brightly; by fantaſtical allegations of Murray's preſenting a Scotch tranſlation at York, as he pretended before to have ſent a Scotch tranſlation to London. Murray himſelf forbids the attempt, and denies the allegation. " The ſaid erle," as the commiſſioners themſelves inform us, " hath been " content privatlie to SHEW us SUCH MATTEIR, " AS THEY HAVE to condempne the Quene of " Scottes of the murder of her huſband." His aſſiſtants accordingly " ſhewed unto us," as they add, " a *copie* of a bond bearing date," &c. " Theare was alſo a contract ſhewed unto us," as they further add, "*ſigned with the Quene's hand*, " and alſo with Bothwell's, bearing date," &c; " and there was alſo a contract ſhewed unto us, " *of the Quene's own hand*,—bearing no date." But as they ſubjoin concerning ſome of the letters,

* Appendix, No. vii.

" it appeared alſo unto us by two letters OF HER " OWNE HAND, that it was by hir own practice " and conſent, that Bothwell ſhould take her and " carry her to Dunbar." Theſe were evidently two of the letters from Stirling. From neither of theſe have we had any extracts before. Yet theſe were equally produced, we ſee, with the other. And they muſt therefore have been equally Scotch with them. But let us hear the commiſſioners again. " After the deviſe of the " murder was determined, as it ſeemed by the " ſequel; they inferred upon a letter OF HER OWN " HAND, that there was another mean, of a more " cleanly conveyance, deviſed to kill the King; " for there was," &c. Theſe were all very evidently, not copies, not tranſlations, but originals, letters (as was pretended) in the very handwriting of Mary. But let us now come to thoſe letters themſelves, from which the extracts were made. The commiſſioners thus ſpeak of the firſt and principal of them: " Afterwards they ſhewed " unto us one horrible and long letter OF HER " OWN HAND, as they ſaye, conteyning," &c. This was very evidently not a tranſlation, and not even a copy, but the original itſelf, the very letter which they pretended Mary to have written to Bothwell. And the commiſſioners finally cloſe their whole account in ſuch a manner, as proves this, as proves the two others, as proves all that were produced, to have been the very originals themſelves. " Theſe men heare," they ſay, " do conſtantlie affirme the ſaid letters, and " other writings, which they produce OF HER

" OWN

"OWN HAND, to be HER OWN HAND indede;
"and do offer to ſwear and take their oaths there-
"upon."* Thus is Murray expreſsly affirmed to have aſſerted, and to have even offered to ſwear, that the letters particularly, which he ſhewed to the commiſſioners, were the very letters which Mary had ſent, were in the very writing in which Mary had penned them, and were in the very language and terms in which Mary had compoſed them.

The letters then were Scotch, at their appearance in York. They were Scotch, in the parliament before. They were Scotch, in the council preceding. And they had now remained Scotch, from their firſt creation in the end of November 1567, to the middle of October 1568; through the long period of ten or eleven months. In this compaſs of time they had undergone many alterations, ſome formal, and ſeveral ſubſtantial. But they had admitted no alteration in this reſpect. Their primary dialect ſtill remained upon them, under every change. It ſeems to have been the original *ſtamen* of their conſtitution. It ſeems to be in the letters, what the bone LUZ of the Hebrews is ſaid to be in the body, what no accident impairs, what no deſtruction annihilates, and what triumphs equally over the caſualties of the world and the deſolations of the grave.

* Appendix, No. v.

§ VI.

SUCH did the language of the letters remain, to the preſent moments of their hiſtory. But ſuch it does not long remain afterwards. The hour of alteration indeed is already come. And even this original *ſtamen* of their conſtitution is now to be broke; even this ſacred bone in their body is now to become a prey to diſſolution; and the changes undergone by them before, ſhall be conſummated in its fall.

When Murray exhibited his letters in parliament, he exhibited them in the native language of the country. This was therefore a fact, if ever any was, of ſuch a quality and nature, as was too publick not to be known, and too notorious not to be owned. Yet, in ſpite of its publickneſs and notoriety, Murray afterwards pretended to Elizabeth, that the letters were in FRENCH. So coolly confident could he be at times, in his own powers of aſſertion! But, *within only four months afterward*, he actually produced them to her commiſſioners in SCOTCH. And this ſlight union of facts ſhews us ſtrikingly, the lively immodeſty, and the prompt verſatility, of guilt in him. We have even a ſtronger evidence of both yet behind. In *eight or nine weeks only*, after he had preſented his letters in SCOTCH, he again preſented them in FRENCH. This ſhews us ſtill more ſtrikingly, the bold and hardened forehead of falſehood, which his habitual hypocriſy had given him. On the 8th of December he appeared before thoſe very commiſſioners, who had been

ſhewn

ſhewn the letters in SCOTCH on the 10th of October before, who had drawn up an account of all of them, who had formed an abſtract of three of them, and who had made conſiderable extracts from the three; and to them he exhibited the letters again in FRENCH. This even exceeds all that amazing "power of face," which we have ſeen exerciſed by Murray before. Perhaps the world never ſaw a more aſtoniſhing ſpectacle of profligate aſſurance, than this. And audacious vice had certainly rubbed his brow, with her hardeſt pumice;

Perfricuit frontem, poſuitque pudorem.

But let not Murray bear all the blame. The commiſſioners of Elizabeth, and Elizabeth herſelf, muſt come in for a large ſhare of it. The former had ſeen, peruſed, and ſtudied the letters. One of them, probably, had drawn up the general account of each of the five produced. Another had formed the analyſis of the principal three. And the third had made the large and numerous extracts from them. That they were in SCOTCH therefore, that in SCOTCH they pretended to be of Mary's handwriting, and that in SCOTCH Murray and his allies offered to ſwear, and ſolemnly aſſerted, them to be of her handwriting; muſt have been indelibly impreſſed upon the minds and memories of all. Yet only a *few*, a *very* few, *weeks* afterwards, they ſaw the ſame letters in the ſame handwriting, preſuming to mock at their minds, and to inſult over their memories, by

preſenting themſelves now in FRENCH, and ſtill pretending to be Mary's and the ſame. And, what ſeems amazing to an honeſt ſpirit, they beheld the bold deception, they received the daring impoſture, without reprehenſion and without remark.

But it was all chargeable to Elizabeth. She was the SUN of the whole ſyſtem. They were merely her planets, actuated by her influence, attracted towards her center, and moving in dutiful attendance about her orb. She had received their diſpatches concerning the letters from York. She had read their general account of them, their analyſis, and their extracts. She had laid them all before her privy council. And ſhe had written a reply to all. That the letters of Mary were *then* in SCOTCH, muſt have been engraven in characters of braſs upon her memory, for half a century of years. Yet ſhe, even ſhe, in leſs than *half a dozen years*, in leſs than *one*, in leſs than *half a dozen months*, in leſs than *two*, in *fifty-nine days only*, ſuffered the letters to be reproduced in FRENCH; ſuffered them ſtill to maintain their claim to the hand of Mary; and even ſolemnly ratified their claim on collation, before the ſame counſellors and the ſame commiſſioners.

She was the ſecret cauſe of all. Her privy counſellors preſumed not to ſee but with her eyes, and her commiſſioners pretended not to hear but with her ears. They thought only as ſhe ſuggeſted. They waited till ſhe

gave

gave the awful nod,
The ſtamp of fate, and ſanction of the God.

They then ſaw her intimate her decree, that Mary had written the letters originally in SCOTCH, that Mary had alſo written them originally in FRENCH, and that EITHER or that BOTH ſhould be admitted as her handwriting. They inſtantly carried it into execution. The FRENCH became SCOTCH and the SCOTCH became FRENCH, at her bidding. The *tranſubſtantiation* took place, as the papal mandate ordered. And it forms a wonderful addition to all that we have delineated before, of this *Pope Joan*, her counſellors, and her commiſſioners; and gives us the fulleſt and the completeſt picture, that it is poſſible for the human pencil to draw, of the baſeneſs of ſervility in them, and of the daringneſs of effrontery in her.

So far I have truſted to the memory of my reader, for the proofs of this amazing fact, the appearance of the letters in FRENCH at Weſtminſter. The paſſages that prove it, have been too often on the ſtage to be readily forgotten. But let them be brought upon the boards again. The fact is of ſuch an aſtoniſhing nature, ſuch a monſter in its form, and ſuch a prodigy in its ſubſtance, that the mind ſhrinks back from it with horrour, and recoils forcibly upon itſelf with the ſhock of incredulity. Yet, however monſtrous, it is true. However prodigious, it is real. The journal of Elizabeth's commiſſioners, the books of Elizabeth's privy counſellors, and a letter

ter of Murray's own, all unite to prove it. "This daye," ſays the firſt on December the 8th, "the Erle of Murray, according to the appoint-"ment yeſterday, came to the Quene's Majeſ-"tie's commiſſioners, ſaying, that as they had," &c. "ſo therupon they produced ſeven ſeveral "wrytings wrytten in FRENCH—; which ſeven "wrytings being copied were read in FRENCH, "and a due collation made therof," &c.* A few days afterward, Elizabeth called her council together, and added ſix of the nobles, all earls, extraordinarily to it, under pretence of collating that handwriting in FRENCH, which from its being FRENCH ſhe knew deciſively to be a forgery, with ſome letters of Mary's own to her. "There "were produced," ſays the council-book, "ſun-"dry lettres written in FRENCH, ſuppoſed to be "written by the Quene of Scotts own hand, to "the Erle Bothwell."† And "we," ſays Murray in his ſhort hiſtory of his own tranſactions, "producit eight letteris in FRENCH, written be "the Quenis awin hand, and ſent to—James—"Erle of Bothville."‡ So evident is the fact, upon the papers of theſe, the paſſive or the active, confederates in the boldeſt audacity of flagitiouſneſs! And ſo ſtrongly does it throw a light back upon all their proceedings before, vindicating the ſtrongeſt cenſures of their enormity there, ſhewing that enormity in a ſtill ſtronger point of view, and even carrying it to the higheſt eleva-

* Appendix, No. viii. † Ibid. No. ix.
‡ Ibid. No. xi.

tion

tion poſſible, of human impoſture, and of human impudence.

Theſe pretended letters of Mary's were originally SCOTCH. They then were FRENCH. They yet became SCOTCH again. And they became FRENCH finally. Nor would Elizabeth have bluſhed, nor would her managers have heſitated, one may ſafely pronounce at the cloſe, to admit them as Mary's, and to found a charge of murder upon them, in ANY or in EVERY language under the moon.*

§ VII.

THE French letters, then, were only a tranſlation from the Scotch. This had been much diſputed formerly. Mr. Goodall was the firſt who ſuſpected it. And the ſuſpicion appears at preſent, to have done high honour to his ſagacity. It is now carried into certainty. It is now founded upon the baſis of FACTS. But he ſaw it only from a view of the letters themſelves, by the light which they bore in their own boſom. Yet this is managed ſo well, that he illuſtrated his poſition very ſtrongly by it. He gave indeed ſuch convincing proofs of the point, that no man of candour in the buſineſs of thinking, no man of honour in the intellectual commerce of life, could

* Yet in Goodall, ii. 379, Cecil has the boldneſs to aſſert, that the letters, &c. were teſtified by the oaths of Murray, &c. to have been "delivered without *raſure*, *diminution*, "*addition*, *falſifieng*, or *alteration* in any point." This is ſurely in the higheſt tone of Elizabethan effrontery.

poſſibly

poſſibly deny the force of them.* Yet Mr. Hume and Dr. Robertſon did. For the dignity of literature, and, what is infinitely more in value, for the majeſty of virtue itſelf, I am ſorry I am compelled to ſay it. They denied it in reality, when they were obliged to acknowledge it in appearance. They owned the French copy which we have at preſent, to be undoubtedly a tranſlation from the Scotch. But then they begged leave to ſuppoſe, and they even preſumed to maintain, that *the preſent copy was not the ſame as was exhibited at Weſtminſter.* "We have "not," ſays Mr. Hume, "the originals of the "letters, which were in French; we have only "a Scots and Latin tranſlation from the origi- "nal, and a French tranſlation profeſſedly done "from the Latin."† "We may obſerve," ſays Dr. Robertſon, "that all this author's," Mr. Goodall's, "premiſes may be granted, and yet "his concluſion will not follow, *unleſs* he like- "wiſe prove that the French letters, as we now "have them, are a true copy of thoſe which "were produced by Murray and his party in the "Scottiſh parliament, and at York and Weſtmin- "ſter—. Our author might have ſaved himſelf "the labour of ſo many criticiſms, to prove that "the preſent French copy of the letters is a tranſ- "lation from the Latin. The French editor "himſelf acknowledges it, and, ſo far as I know, "no perſon ever denied it."‡ This is ſurely the laſt and deſperate effort of baffled credulity.

* Goodall, i. 81—98. † Hiſt. v. 147. ‡ Diſſ. 30—31.

Having

Having no longer any footing upon earth, they endeavour to fix themſelves in the clouds. And they are ready to raiſe ſuppoſition upon ſuppoſition, and to pile aſſertion upon the head of aſſertion, "imponere Pelio Oſſam," in order to aſcend thither. But let us purſue them into this their laſt retreat. And we ſhall ſoon bring them back to earth again.*

It is very obſervable, that Dr. Robertſon does not poſitively aſſert the exiſtence of ſuch an imaginary original. He only *inſinuates* it. And he calls upon Mr. Goodall to diſprove it. This is the very *policy* of literature, the joint device of prudence and of fear. But what is Mr. Goodall called upon to prove, in order to diſprove that? He is to ſhew, that "the French letters, as we now "have them, are a true copy of thoſe that were "produced by Murray and his party, at the "Scottiſh parliament, and at York and Weſt-"minſter." This indeed would be a labour for Hercules. This would be a taſk for Jupiter himſelf. It would be to prove, what I have hiſtorically diſproved. It would be to prove, in contradiction to FACTS themſelves. And I have already ſhewn it would be this, by ſhewing the copy preſented to the parliament, and produced at York, NOT to be French at all. So little had

* Mr. Hume and Dr. Robertſon have not even the *intellectual* merit, of *inventing* this poor ſubterfuge. It was firſt ſuggeſted by Mr. Goodall himſelf. He foreſaw and expoſed it. And yet theſe two fellow-labourers in the cauſe were ſo much diſtreſſed, that they condeſcended to take up this objection from him. See Goodall, i. 99—102.

Dr.

Dr. Robertſon attended to the HISTORY of the letters!

But both he and Mr. Hume expreſsly acknowledge the *preſent* French, to be a tranſlation from the Scotch, and, what is much more, a tranſlation through the medium of the Latin. Mr. Hume aſſumes it as a certain principle. Dr. Robertſon adds, that he never knew any perſon to deny it. Yet who taught this principle to them both? MR. GOODALL. Who proved the certainty of it to them both? MR. GOODALL. From the publication of the French letters, to the very day of Mr. Goodall's writing concerning them, the publiſhed French had been taken by all to be the very original of the whole. Mr. Goodall demonſtrated this univerſal belief to be falſe in itſelf. Conviction flaſhed upon all the thinking and ingenuous part of the nation. But there were ſome MOLES in criticiſm, it ſeems, who had been long in the habit of throwing up dirt againſt Mary, to whom the light was peculiarly painful, who therefore took refuge from it again in darkneſs, and there began to throw up their dirt again. The divine and the ſceptick united together, to treat the intelligence which they acquired from Mr. Goodall's reaſoning, juſt as ſcepticks are very apt to treat the knowledge which they derive from ſcripture; to admit what they cannot deny, to appropriate all without any acknowledgment, and then to turn their borrowed ſcience againſt the very lender of it. Mr. Hume and the Doctor ſecretly renounced all their former errours, under the impreſſion of Mr. Goodall's arguments.

arguments. And they then pretended, that theſe errours had never exiſted in their or any other heads at all. Mr. Hume ſilently pretends it, and Dr. Robertſon openly. With an affectation of livelineſs to colour over a want of candour, the latter lets his ſpirits ferment, till at laſt they break out in the very extreme of diſingenuouſneſs. "So "far as I know," he cries at the end, "no man "ever denied" the preſent French copy to be only a tranſlation from the Scotch. But did any man ever *aſſert* it *before* Mr. Goodall? The doctrine of gravitation, "ſo far as I know," was never denied by any man. But was it ever affirmed *before* Sir Iſaac Newton? And would it not reflect diſhonour upon the ſpirit of a philoſopher at preſent, a diſciple (we will ſuppoſe) of Mr. Hutchinſon's; if feeling too powerfully the weight of Sir Iſaac's arguments, for the credit of his underſtanding, to deny aſſent to his concluſions, he ſhould yet take ſhelter from conviction in littleneſs, ſhould catch at ſome pretended hints of gravitation in an ancient author, and then exclaim with an *affected* admiration at the proofs in the real diſcoverer, that "he might have ſaved "himſelf the labour of ſo many criticiſms," and that, "ſo far as he knew, no perſon had ever "denied" the doctrine.

But *is* the French copy that we have at preſent, ſay, or mean to ſay, theſe confeſſors and martyrs for political prejudice, the very ſame with the copy produced by Murray at Weſtminſter? And *is* the Scotch copy that we have at preſent, I add, the very ſame that was exhibited by him at York?

The

The one may be queſtioned as well as the other. Some anti-confeſſor or anti-martyr to the ſame ſort of prejudice, may determine the queſtion as affirmatively on the one ſide, as they have done it on the other. And how ſhall we, who are not for being confeſſors or martyrs to either, be able to determine betwixt them? One anſwer will be effectual to both. We have ſome remains, as Dr. Robertſon himſelf allows, of the *French* copy that was exhibited by Murray. We have alſo ſome remains, as every one muſt allow, of the *Scotch* copy exhibited by him. "In the Scot-"tiſh tranſlation of the Detection," ſays the Doctor, "two or three ſentences of the original "French were prefixed to each letter, which "breaking off with an &c. the Scottiſh tranſ-"lation of the whole followed."* And I have already given ſome paſſages out of the original Scotch, which the commiſſioners at York have afforded me. But are theſe paſſages, and theſe ſentences, *greatly* different from thoſe in the preſent copies? No! Are they different in any *one important word?* No! They are nearly to a word the ſame in *Scotch*. They are actually the ſame to a word in *French*. This Dr. Robertſon himſelf admits. And where therefore, in the name of common-ſenſe, can a poſſibility of doubt be lodged? No where within the regions of *common-ſenſe*. But in that refinement of underſtanding, which is only the reſult of diſingenuouſneſs, and which is a kind of intellectual juggle that an un-

* Diſſ. 31.

candid

candid mind exerciſes upon itſelf, there will ſtill be ſcope for evaſion. Theſe paſſages, ſo exactly the ſame in the Doctor's pretended original and the preſent copy of the French, *may* have been, he will be bold to ſuppoſe, and actually *were*, he will be more bold to aſſert, taken from that original into the preſent copy; and ſo came to be exactly the ſame in both. "The French editor," the Doctor tells us, "laid hold of theſe ſentences, "and tacked his own tranſlation to them."* And the extracts from the Scotch may be alſo aſſerted by an antagoniſt of equal bravery, if ſuch a one can be met with, to have been equally borrowed by the preſent copy from the letters of the commiſſioners at York, and for that reaſon to be ſo entirely conformable in both. When the human mind once puts itſelf under the dominion of chicane, it is conſtantly puniſhed by its own folly. Its vigour is debilitated by its fraudulence. The ſtrength of the lion ſinks into the wily weakneſs of the fox. And, in the juſt retributions of providence, the diſhoneſty is repaid by ridiculouſneſs.

This will appear ſtill more ſtrongly, if we conſider the conduct of theſe brother-champions for credulity in another view. They are eminent patterns of that very credulity, which they want to enforce upon us.

They are themſelves the Great Sublime they draw.

They want to fix our faith upon an imaginary copy of the French letters, which once

* Diff. 34.

(they ſay) exiſted upon earth, but is now *in nubibus*; or rather is mounted to the moon,

As all things loſt on earth are treaſured there.

There it is ſecure from all the calamities of life. No critick eye can follow it thither, and expoſe its pretenſions to originality. It there may reſt with all its infirmities about it, ſafe from the GOODALLS of every age,

Safe where no criticks damn, no fiends moleſt;

embalmed in dews of æther, and conſigned to a peaceful immortality.

——————— Manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos ſpargam flores, animamque nepotis
His ſaltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.

And every one muſt applaud the wiſdom of theſe gentlemen, in the ſudden *tranſlation* of the original to ſuch a ſtate of repoſe, juſt at a time when the voice of war was beginning to diſturb it in its old poſſeſſions, and to threaten even its very exiſtence. But alas! all human wiſdom is greatly tempered with folly. In this act of prudent attention to one point of the charge againſt Mary, they forget another. In their zeal to lodge the French original in ſome unknown ſphere, they deprive themſelves of any original at all. The preſent Scotch is merely a verſion. The preſent French is alſo a verſion. And the preſent Latin is equally one with both. The Scotch is alſo aſſerted by Meſſieurs Robertſon and Hume, to be very faulty. The Latin is allowed by them to be

ſtill more ſo. And the great faultineſs of the French, is their principal argument for its ſpuriouſneſs. All may be exceedingly vitiated. Each certainly differs from the other. This argues all to have been ſtrangely corrupted, as we have no original for the trial of any. The French particularly, we know to talk egregious nonſenſe at times. It changes Mary's *letter of adultery* into her BIBLE, that edition of it anticipated (I ſuppoſe), in which the commandment ran, "thou "*ſhalt* commit adultery." It confounds her letter again with her *firſt day's journey*; and ſo makes her to promiſe, with a happy Hiberniſm, to *finiſh this* her *firſt day's journey* the NEXT DAY. It even miſtakes *irkit* for *nakit*, ſtrips the delicate Queen in the month of January and at the hour of midnight, and keeps her in this ſituation "*toute* nuë," without even the cover of a ſmock upon her, writing a long letter to her lover. How can we rely, then, upon the teſtimony of ſuch a blundering witneſs as this? And, what is more, as the Scotch can depoſe to what it knows at ſecond hand only, ſo the Latin and the French can atteſt only at third and at fourth hand. The original French, now ἐν ἁγιοις, all bleſſings be upon it there! tranſmitted its intelligence to the Scotch; the Scotch imparted it to the Latin; and the Latin communicated it to the baſtard French. This is ſurely that very

——————— Pin
Which touch'd the ruff, which touch'd Queen Beſs's chin.

To ſuch hearſay, ſuch vitiated, and ſuch con-

tradictory evidences are we now reduced, by diſpatching the original away from earth. With ſuch a prepoſterous policy, have theſe two advocates for the letters been labouring to defend their genuineneſs, that they have almoſt annihilated their credibility. And the friends of innocence may well be allowed, to point the finger of triumphant ſcorn at the ſight, and to cry out with the tone of triumphant language upon it,

> —'Tis the ſport to ſee the engineer
> Hoiſt with his own petar.

Nor can I refrain from adding one obſervation more in the ſame ſtrain, in order to chaſtiſe properly this uncandid ſpirit of argumentation, in Dr. Robertſon particularly. He objects to Mr. Goodall the circuitous route, which his remarks upon the three tranſlations ſhewed to have been taken, in the French being tranſlated from the Latin and the Scotch ſucceſſively. Mr. Goodall, he ſays, "accounts for THIS STRANGE SUCCESSION OF TRANSLATIONS, by ſuppoſing that "when the forgery was projected, no perſon could "be found capable of writing originally in the "French language, letters which would paſs for "the Queen's; for that reaſon they were firſt "compoſed in Scottiſh; but unluckily the French "interpreter, it would ſeem, did not underſtand "that language; and therefore Buchanan tranſ-"lated them into Latin, and from his Latin they "were rendered into French. Goodall, i. 79, "80." I have aſſigned a reaſon for there being both a *Scotch* and a *French* copy of the letters, that

that is very different from this, and more *hiſtorical*. "It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that "no proof whatever is produced of any of theſe "ſuppoſitions." The Doctor here ſpeaks at the beſt, with an unguarded amplitude of expreſſion; as the main ſuppoſitions are all proved demonſtratively, that the letters were firſt compoſed in Scotch, that they were thence tranſlated into Latin, and that from the Latin they were again tranſlated into French. "The manners of the "Scots in that age, when almoſt every man of "rank ſpent a part of his youth in France, and "the intercourſe between the two nations was "great, render it altogether improbable" [as if the FACT was not plain], "that ſo many com-"plicated operations ſhould be neceſſary, in order "to procure a few letters to be written in the "French language."* Yet how does Dr. Robertſon mend the matter? Inſtead of "this "ſtrange ſucceſſion of tranſlations," he has reduced us, no doubt, to one ſingle tranſlation; or perhaps has overleaped them all, and carried us to the original at once. And "ſo many com-"plicated operations" will thus be diſcharged for ever, by that ſimplifying principle of underſtanding, which is the peculiar happineſs of genius. Yet, when we come to examine, we find ourſelves diſappointed. The "many compli-"cated operations" are ſtill left at work. The "ſtrange ſucceſſion of tranſlations" is ſtill continued on the file. And all theſe objections to

* Diſſ. 29—30.

Mr. Goodall's ſyſtem, ſtand in *equal* force againſt *his own.*

But is this poſſible to be true, with a writer of Dr. Robertſon's reputation? It is not only poſſible. It is actually true. And even upon the Doctor's *own* hypotheſis, the preſent French *was* tranſlated from the preſent Latin, and the preſent Latin *was* tranſlated from the preſent Scotch. "This French tranſlator," ſays Dr. Robertſon afterwards, "does not pretend to publiſh the original French letters, as written by the Queen herſelf; he expreſsly declares that he tranſlated them from the Latin. Goodall, i. 103. Had our author attended to all theſe circumſtances," this and others, "he might have ſaved himſelf the labour of ſo many criticiſms, to prove that the preſent French copy of the letters is a tranſlation from the Latin. The French editor himſelf acknowledges it, and ſo far as I know no perſon ever denied it."* We are therefore left by the Doctor upon the old ground of "improbability," on which he pretended to take us up. But, what is much more, we are actually left upon it, with an *additional* load of "improbability" on our ſhoulders. The very chain of abſurdity, of which the Doctor complains, is *lengthened* by him almoſt while he is complaining, and actually receives *an addition of one link more from his hands.* Before, the Scotch was the original, and the Latin and French were progreſſively tranſlations from it. Now, the Scotch is equally a tranſlation with the Latin and French, and all mediately or immediately from

* Diſſ. 29.

a new

a new original of the Doctor's own fabrication in French. We have thus one ſtep more added to the flight before; and by the very artiſt who laughed at the number before, and who pretended to make the approach with fewer. Such was the promiſe, and ſuch is the performance, in this curious ſpecimen of literary quackery!

But this is not all. The reaſon aſſigned, why the French copy of the letters could not be thus a tranſlation from the Scotch through the Latin, the reflection of the reflection of a rainbow; is this. At that time, ſays the Doctor, "almoſt "every man of rank ſpent a part of his youth in "France," and "the intercourſe between the two "nations was great." "Theſe," the Doctor adds, "render it altogether improbable, that ſo "many complicated operations ſhould be neceſ- "ſary, in order to procure a few letters to be "*written* in the French language." Yet, at that very time, theſe very operations were uſed, by the Doctor's *own* account, to procure a few letters to be *tranſlated* into the French language. And, what is the crowning part of the contradiction, theſe very operations were uſed to procure a French tranſlation, *when* there was a French original exiſting at the very time, and when this original had been written without ſuch a complexity of operations.

But I will puſh the good Doctor no farther. Theology and hiſtory owe too much to him, to let him be preſſed too ſharply, even when he is moſt wanton in his attacks, and moſt weak in his weapons. And I go on to obſerve, that the FACTS,

which I have previouſly ſtated, *preclude* all this frantic hypotheſis of an original, which was juſt ſeen, and then aſcended to the clouds,

> Oſtendunt terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
> Eſſe ſinunt;

and which was ſeen only by Dr. Robertſon in its flight upwards,

> As Rome's great founder to the Heavens withdrew,
> To Proculus alone confeſs'd in view.

The letters were originally Scotch for ſixteen months together, from June 1567, when they were pretended to be found, to October 1568, when they were produced to the commiſſioners at York. They were then, and not till then, tranſlated into French. In French they appeared at Weſtminſter, on the 8th of December following. And, as the tranſlation had been awkwardly made, they betrayed their Scotch extraction ſo plainly under all their French diſguiſe; that, after Mr. Goodall had pointed it out, his boldeſt adverſaries could not deny it, and were driven by it into a moſt extravagant ſuppoſition, *a kind of ſubtle æther*, or *nature's abhorrence of a vacuum*, or ſome ſuch ſpeculation of dreaming reaſon.

The original fabricator of the letters, has been always conjectured hitherto to be the celebrated Buchanan; a man with a head qualified for any department in literature, but with a heart ready for any practice of villainy; and actually one of the aſſiſtants to the rebel commiſſioners, in the conferences

conferences at York and Weſtminſter.* But I have ſhewn them to have been pretty certainly fabricated by Lethington, who is witneſſed expreſsly by two cotemporary authors, to have forged the handwriting of Mary frequently; † who ſeemed to love wickedneſs, for the inſidiouſneſs which it enabled him to exerciſe; who practiſed all the frauds of villainy, merely to ſhew the dexterity of his genius in managing them; and who had ſuch an habitual propenſity to intrigues, that he plotted againſt Mary, that he plotted againſt Murray, that he plotted againſt all who had any connection with him. And the verſion of the Scotch letters into French, ſhould naturally have been the taſk of Buchanans; of Lethington again, to tranſcribe them. Buchanan had ſpent many years in France,‡ and was peculiarly adapted for the work from his knowledge of both languages. Yet it is plain, that he was not employed in it. The tranſlation was plainly committed to a perſon, who was totally incompetent to the making of it. This man *was compelled to tranſlate the Scotch, by the interpoſition of a Latin copy.* Buchanan, with the indolence of a ſtudious man, with the pride of a ſcholar, or rather with the inſolence of a half-commiſſioner,§ devolved the me-

* Goodall, ii. 109, 140, and 307.

† Crawford, 114; and Camden's Annals, tranſlation, 116, and original, 143—144.

‡ See his life written by himſelf, and prefixed to Ruddiman's edition of his works.

§ He actually repreſents himſelf to have been a commiſſioner, when he was only an aſſiſtant to the commiſſioners, and when even *Lethington was no more.* Hiſt. xix. 372.

chanical

chanical employ upon another. He did ſo afterwards, when he publiſhed his own *Detectio Mariæ* in French. That *he* publiſhed this edition of his Detection in French, and conſequently publiſhed the French copy of the letters which was inſerted in it; is plain from poſitive evidence at the time. Blackwood, "who next to Leſley was the beſt informed of all Mary's advocates in that age," as Dr. Robertſon himſelf allows;* and who was ſo, principally, becauſe he was entruſted with all the papers of Mary's embaſſadour in France;† ſpeaks in theſe terms of "Buchanan, homme ingrat, "et deſloyal:—IL a depuis adjouſté a cette decla-"mation," the Detection, "un petit libelle du "pretendu mariage du Duc de Norfolk, et de "la facon de ſon proces, et le tout envoyé" into France.—But he had previouſly looked out for a Frenchman, to make the tranſlation. This we equally know from a cotemporary writer. "I—"celuy," ſays the author of *Innocence de Marie*, printed in 1572, concerning the Detection, "premierement compoſé (comme il ſemble) par "George Bucchanan, Eſcoſſoys, et depuis traduit "en langue Francoiſe par un Huguenot."‡ It was publiſhed in Latin at London, as I have formerly ſhewn, about the end of October 1571. And it was republiſhed at London in French, on the 13th of February 1572.§ But he did ſo in

* Diſſ. 30, and Jebb, ii. 256.
† Jebb, ii. Preface, and Keith, App. 146.
‡ Jebb, i. 425.
§ Goodall, i. 38, and Tytler, 72—73.

a point,

a point, that comes ſtill nearer to our preſent one. He had moſt probably drawn up the ſonnets in French, himſelf. Yet he left the tranſlation of them into Scotch to another. He left it to ſome poor wretch, who ſeems to have underſtood neither Scotch nor French, and who has actually made his tranſlation a chaos of both and of neither. So conſiſtently careleſs does Buchanan appear, in both theſe operations! And ſo little ſtreſs of ſerioufneſs did he and his aſſociates lay, upon the ſonnets and letters at the time; though ſucceeding generations have taken them up with reſpect, and have treated them with reverence!

Yet who was the perſon engaged by Buchanan, in tranſlating the Scotch letters into French for the conference at Weſtminſter? The very ſame, I ſuppoſe, who was employed by him in tranſlating his Detection afterwards. This is highly probable in itſelf. But, when we conſider another circumſtance, it becomes more than probable. The very man, who tranſlated the Detection into French, *publiſhed the letters tranſlated with it*; and not merely the three, that were in the original Detection, but *all*. To the original three of his author, he added the other five. Only, from ſome accident, a great part of the French eighth is loſt. And this tranſlation of his is the very ſame with that, to which the Scotch original, after the conference at Weſtminſter, was obliged to rank as a tranſlation; is the very ſame that we have at preſent; and is the only French copy, known or likely to have exiſted at all.

What

What then was the name of this author? Let the anonymous cotemporary, whom I cited before, tell us. He was "un Huguenot, Poitevin "(advocat de vocation) CAMUZ, ſoy diſant gen- "tilhomme, et un de plus remarquez ſeditieux "de France."* And as we may conclude from a blunder in Blackwood, who makes the verſion to have been formed and printed at ROCHELLE in France,† though it was demonſtrably printed in London; he was one of the advocates and proteſtants of Rochelle, that celebrated capital of proteſtantiſm to the year 1628. To this man, pretty certainly, did Buchanan conſign the taſk, of making Mary's letters unlearn their native Scotch, and ſpeak in the language of France at laſt. Camuz was a refugee for his religion. He had nobly renounced his country, reſigned his profeſſion, and devoted himſelf to poverty and exile. The author of *Innocence de Marie* therefore, with the low turn of men that fix felicity in wealth, hints at his poverty in queſtioning his gentility. But he was alſo one of thoſe champions for religion, who brought one of the worſt principles of popery into the boſom of proteſtantiſm; who were juſt as ready to ſacrifice all the laws of morality for the one, as the papiſts were for the other; and who ſtained the bright annals of the reformation, with rebellion and ſacrilege, with perjury and forgery, with uſurpation, devaſtation, and murders. And his engaging in this *pious fraud* of forgery againſt Mary,

* Jebb, i. 425. † Ibid. ii. 256.

ſhews

ſhews his exile not to have civilized the religious barbarity of his principles, not to have tamed him into a peaceable citizen, and not to have humanized him into an honeſt man. He was ſtill a knave. But then he was a knave for proteſtantiſm ſtill. And, as ſuch, he was a fit inſtrument to be employed, in this dark work of aſſaſſination upon the good name of Mary. He was perhaps recommended by Cecil himſelf, for the employ. Since we have ſeen the change of the very language carried on by ſuch a groſs colluſion with Elizabeth and Elizabeth's miniſters; we can have no doubt, but ſhe, or Cecil, or both, were privy to all the management of the change. And the man muſt certainly have been employed by Cecil afterwards, in publiſhing the French copy of the letters from his office.

But, after all, Camuz had one great deficiency of knowledge for the work. He was ignorant of the Scottiſh language; that language, in which the letters had been hitherto written; that language, from which he was now to tranſlate them into French. This indeed was a deficiency of a capital nature. How ſhall it be ſupplied? In the ſame way, that ſome of his countrymen ſince are ſaid to have ſupplied their ignorance of Homer's Greek, by tranſlating from a Latin copy. His education for his profeſſional employ, had given him a ſufficient acquaintance, with the one univerſal language of European literature. And a Latin copy muſt be ſubſtituted to him, in the room of the Scotch. This was done accordingly. Buchanan had probably turned the letters into Latin

Latin already, with a view to that publication of them in his Latin Detection, which he made about three years afterward. In this work he ſhould naturally have inſerted them all, though he inſerted only three. And he actually preſented the work to Elizabeth and to her commiſſioners in form, at the Weſtminſter conference.* This Latin copy he communicated to Camuz. The unprincipled refugee went to work upon this ſecondary original. He tranſlated as the Latin read. And, as the Latin had read falſely in various places, it drew Camuz and his French copy into various falſehoods. Some of theſe Buchanan ſaw and corrected, before he publiſhed his Detection and three letters in Latin. Some other perſon ſaw and corrected others. And this has produced a ſlight train of variations, betwixt the Latin and the French of thoſe authors.†

Thus tranſlated, the French letters appeared at Weſtminſter as the true originals. Dreſt up in the ſecond-hand livery of Camuz, they ſtrutted with all the dignity of their maſters, aſſumed the honour of their names, and mocked at all ſubordination to them. And ſucceeding times were ſo little acquainted with the diſcriminating marks, between the port of a lord and the ſtep of his valet; that they received the one for the other, took the valet into the drawing-room, and left the lord in the ſervant's hall.

But, when Camuz came afterwards to publiſh the French edition of the Detection, he acknow-

* Camden's Annals, tranſlation, 117, and original, 144.

† See next volume for them.

ledged

ledged the impoſition which had been put upon the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, with all that ſerenity of impudence, with which Murray had changed the Scotch of the letters into French before. " Au reſte," he ſaid to the reader, " les " epiſtres miſes ſur la fin," which were all the letters except the eighth, " avoient eſté eſcrites " par la Royne, partie en Francois partie en " Eſcoſſois, et depuis traduictes entierement en " Latin: mais n'ayant cognoiſſance de la langue " Eſcoſſoiſe, j'ay mieux aimé exprimer tout ce " que j'ay trouvé en Latin, que me monſtrant " trop ſcrupuleux au changement d'une ſyllabe, " te fruſtrer de l' eſclairciſſement que tu y auras, " pour cognoiſtre a qui la faute de l'execrable " meurtre, et autres enormitez y contenues, " doivent eſtre imputées."* In this account of his work, Camuz appears as unprincipled as Buchanan himſelf, and worthy to rank as a tranſlator to ſuch an author. He had turned the Scotch letters into French. He knew, therefore, the imputed manufacture of Mary to be *his own* fabrication. Yet he ſupports the forgery. He acknowledges, he had tranſlated the letters into French himſelf. Yet he ſupports the forgery ſtill. So thoroughly were all the workings of grace, all the ſuggeſtions of natural conſcience, and even all the motions of modeſty, overborne in his ſoul by a villainy, that uſurped the title of religion!

He ſays, however, that he tranſlated the letters into French, not from the Scotch immediately,

* Goodall, i. 103.

becauſe

becauſe he was ignorant of the Scottiſh language, but mediately through the Latin. He thus tells all, that Mr. Goodall diſcovered near two hundred years afterward. But he told it, becauſe he thought it would be diſcovered. He had begun to be aware, that he had been led into ſome miſtakes by the Latin. He therefore tells us of his original. And he intimates his ſuſpicion expreſsly, that the Latin had not been "too ſcru-"pulous in the change of a ſyllable." But, if he had "no knowledge of the Scottiſh language," and was therefore forced to take "what he found "in Latin;" then the letters were originally written in SCOTCH. This is plain. It is plain from his own account. And the letters appear from his own confeſſion, from the tenour and from the terms of it, to have been all in SCOTCH, when he began to tranſlate them. He *therefore* provided himſelf with a Latin verſion of them. This was not confined, as has been hitherto underſtood, to the *three* which Buchanan publiſhed in Latin. If it had been, Camuz could never have tranſlated the other five. It compriſed *all the eight*. Hence all the eight appeared in French at Weſtminſter. Hence alſo all the eight were publiſhed by Camuz in French afterwards, except only one which had been accidentally loſt. And Camuz expreſsly tells us, that he had a Latin copy of all the eight before him at the time, and that he tranſlated all the eight from it into French. The letters, he ſays, were "traduictes ENTIERE-"MENT en Latin;" and I, he adds concerning himſelf,

himſelf, have expreſſed in French "TOUT ce que "j'ay TROUVE EN LATIN."

But Camuz alſo ſays, that the letters which he publiſhed were "eſcrites par la Royne, *partie* en "Francois, *partie* en Eſcoſſois; et depuis tra- "duictes *entierement* en Latin." This Dr. Robertſon interprets into an affirmation, "that "Mary had written theſe letters, *partly* in French, "*partly* in Scottiſh."* The Doctor alſo endeavours to account for it by a ſuppoſition of his own, which is even more extravagant than the imputed aſſertion of his author. He ſuppoſes him to have taken his idea, of the letters being written *partly* in Scotch and *partly* in French, from the incident of the Scotch letters carrying a few words of the French at the head of each. How ſuch an incident, even under any miſconceptions of ignorance, could have given riſe to ſuch a ſuppoſition; it is difficult to ſay. But the difficulty is doubled, when we reflect on what the Doctor himſelf allows, that "this method of "printing *tranſlations* was not uncommon in that "age."† And the difficulty is mounted up into an impoſſibility, when we additionally reflect, that theſe very Scotch letters expreſsly declared themſelves to *be* a *tranſlation* from the French. In conformity to the laſt exhibition of the letters in French, the publiſhed Scotch hypocritically profeſſed itſelf to be merely a verſion from the French, and to be made word for word from it.‡ But the real fact is this, undiſguiſed by hypothe-

* Diſſ. 31. † Ibid. 32. ‡ Deteſtion, 129.

tical reaſonings, and unobſcured by pretended illuminations. Camuz ſpeaks of the eight letters, not as written *partly* in French, and *partly* in Scotch, a mode of compoſing them, which is as ridiculous as it is falſe; but as compoſed *ſome* in French and *ſome* in Scotch, and *all* tranſlated into Latin. He ſpeaks not with a ſtrict accuracy or a full conſiſtency. But he plainly alludes to a *fact*. He alludes to the appearances of *five* letters in *Scotch* at York, of *five* in *French* at Weſtminſter, of *ten* in *Scotch*, and of *eight* in *French*, there. He was confounded by the complexity of theſe backward and forward movements, this "cycle "in epicycle, orb in orb." He probably knew them imperfectly. He certainly comprehended them indiſtinctly. He therefore ſpeaks confuſedly of them, as if *ſome* of *his own eight* had been written by Mary herſelf in *Scotch*, and *ſome* in *French*. And he therefore runs himſelf into a contradiction, as if one or more of the letters had been originally compoſed in French; when he acknowledges they were *all* in *Scotch*, when he acknowledges they were *all* tranſlated out of *Scotch* into Latin, and when he acknowledges that *he himſelf* tranſlated them into French from the one, becauſe he was unacquainted with the other. His information ſtruggling in his mind with his knowledge, the notices derived from others with the certainties acquired by his own experience; he related both juſt as they ſtood before him, and found himſelf unable to reconcile them. But we can do what he could not. We firſt take what he muſt certainly know, *his own conduct*; his tranſlating

tranſlating the letters into French, his finding them only in Scotch, his being ignorant of this language, his procuring a Latin verſion, and his turning the Latin into French. Theſe facts being certain, we can aſcertain the others by them. As he found the letters only in Scotch, and as he tranſlated them mediately from Scotch into French; there could not poſſibly be a French copy antecedent to the Scotch, there could only be a Scotch one. We alſo know the fact to be ſo, independently of his teſtimony. His teſtimony and the fact now unite together. And Camuz appears from both, clear in what lay within the compaſs of his own knowledge, confuſed only in what he had gained from information, confuſed by his miſapprehenſion of ſome facts related to him, ſo making them run counter a little to his own experience, and writing equally with a bewraying explicitneſs concerning all.

I have thus ſtated to my reader the whole hiſtory of this French tranſlation, as far as we can trace it by its own records. It is, we ſee, in a very near correſpondency with the facts before. Had it not been, it muſt have been overborne by them. But, as it is, it ſerves to confirm them. And it unites with them to ſhew, that the Scotch was the original to Murray's French, that the Scotch was the original to Camuz's, and that the French of both was as much the ſame as the Scotch of both. By the final reſolution for a French copy of the letters, Murray ventured upon an enormous audacity of impudence, that endangered his whole ſyſtem. By

the conſignment of the tranſlation to Camuz, he riſked a diſcloſure of his knavery from the new confederate. By the badneſs of Camuz's tranſlation, he actually betrayed the knavery to the penetrating eyes of a critick, in Mr. Goodall; and ſo gave occaſion to the firſt detection of the letters, that had been hitherto made through a courſe of nearly two hundred years. And, by the journals of the commiſſioners, he alſo furniſhed me with a proof of the whole forgery, that lay much more obvious to the common eye, that however had lain even more unnoticed than the other, and that greatly heightens the evidence againſt the authenticity of the letters. *

§ VIII. BUT

* In this French edition of the Detection, printed in February 1572, and about three or four months after the Latin and the Engliſh editions; and particularly in that additional ſupplement to it, which was not in the Latin edition, but was firſt publiſhed in the Engliſh, and was thence taken into the French; were many errours concerning names and words, that were evidently derived from the Engliſh. "Blak Maiſter Johne Spens," a perſon ſo called from his dark complexion, is made into two men, "Blac, Mai-tre," and "Jean Spens" (Detection, iii. and Jebb, i. 330). The tranſlator thus miſinterpreted the word "Maiſter," into a regular ſirname. He had even given the miſinterpretation before. He had then given it with an interpolation of his own, in order to lend a colouring of ſenſe to his erroneous conſtruction. "Andro Maiſter of Arrole" he turned into "André Maiſter, Sieur d'Errole" (104 and 327). "Eleok" was changed, in both the French and the Engliſh, into "Chok" (97 and 324); "Kinros" into "Kinrof" in the Engliſh, and "Rinrof" in the French (104 and 327): "Hereis" into "Hereif," Engliſh, and "Heierif," French; "Lochinwar" into "Lothinwar," Engliſh, and "Bothin-

"war,"

§ VIII.

BUT there is one point more which I wiſh to explain, before I cloſe the chapter and the

" war," French; and "Barnebowgal" into " Berne Buxal" and " Vernée Bruxal" (112 and 331). " Johne Hammil- " toun, commendater of Arbroith," was by a ſlight eliſion reduced into a " commander" in Engliſh, and appears as " Jean Hambleton commandeur de Arbroycht" in French " (112 and 331). " At quhilk tyme" was, by as ſlight a ſubſtitution, made " all quhilk tyme" in Engliſh, and " de " tout temps" in French; was taken in both, from the head of a ſentence; and was placed by both, in the middle of one (105 and 327). " The langer dirt is hiddin, it is the " ſtranger," was by a caſual miſprint of the Engliſh turned, in the leading word, into " deirt;" was interpreted to mean *dearth*; and was rendered in French thus, " d'autant plus " qu'on cache la *faim*, d' autant plus elle s'augmente" (160 and 351). " *Hindmeſt* he confeſſit" became " Hinmeſt" in Engliſh, then roſe aſtoniſhingly into a perſon, and appeared " *Hineſt* confeſſa" in French (160 and 351). " Nouther," which had been invariably printed " neither" before, being accidentally left in its native form at one place, was ſuppoſed to be " no uther," and to have loſt its accompanying word " time;" and was therefore tranſlated, with a wild perver- ſion of the ſenſe, " fuſſent forclos *cy apres* a produire," &c. (113 and 331). And, to cloſe this long bead-roll of blun- ders, that technical idiom of the Scotch law, " art and part," was three times metamorphoſed in Engliſh into " acte & " part," and in French into " acte" only for the two firſt times, the words " & part" being rejected, as impoſſible to be moulded to any meaning with the other; and into " en " tout et en partie" afterwards, the latter half being now retained, and the former moulded into a conformity with it (103 and 326, 105 and 327, and 113 and 331): and that tech- nical term of law, " dittay," was turned into " adjourne- " ment" and " ajournement" at firſt, then into " ſignifiées,"

as

argument together. I have now traced the French copy, from its origin to its publication. I wiſh alſo

as applied to "lettres," then into "proces," and finally into "accuſation" (103 and 326, 103 and 327, 113 and 331, and 113 and 331 again).

Mr. Goodall was the firſt who obſerved theſe, and a thouſand errours beſides, which had paſſed unnoticed in the hiſtory of the letters, for one hundred and eighty years before (i. 107—113). But he drew a concluſion from theſe, which was very natural indeed, and yet was not juſt. The ſame blunders exiſting nearly in the ſame form within the Engliſh and the French editions of the Detection, he preſumed them to have been derived into the French, immediately from the Engliſh. And he inferred the French tranſlator to have actually known the Engliſh language, though he expreſsly declares himſelf to have been ignorant of it.

But this reaſoning is not accurate. It is founded upon a falſe aſſumption. It conſequently partakes of the falſehood of that. The blunders may have been tranſmitted, *mediately*, from the Engliſh to the French. They may have been tranſmitted, through the interpoſition of the Latin. A Latin tranſlation was actually interpoſed, in three of the letters. This was even executed by the hand of a Buchanan. Yet it is replete with miſtakes. And it has tranſplanted them all into the French. This therefore ſtands as a ſtrong argument of analogy, that the ſame medium was equally uſed in the additional ſupplement. A meaner hand than Buchanan's was engaged, in tranſlating this. The tranſlator was probably an Engliſhman, and therefore not ſo well acquainted as Buchanan neceſſarily was, with thoſe peculiarities of words and idioms, which diſtinguiſh the language of Northern Britain from that of the Southern. He therefore miſunderſtood them. He was not converſant too with thoſe titular and perſonal appellations, which diſcriminate the lords and knights of Scotland from thoſe of England. He therefore miſpelled them. The French hiſtorians often do ſo, to the preſent day; and diſfigure the names of foreigners in ſuch a wonderful manner, that the foreigners can hardly know themſelves again, under

alſo to trace the Scotch. This alone is requiſite to wind up the whole of my reaſoning here, com-

 pletely.

under the ſtrange diſguiſe. Then the imperfections of a preſs, in that age negligent and inaccurate beyond any example of modern times, created ſome miſtakes, which a tranſlator was obliged to copy, becauſe he was unable to correct; and multiplied others, by giving ſcope to conjectural readings, whenever ignorance found itſelf perplexed. All would be taken into the Latin tranſlation, and all would be preſerved in the French. Some would even be added, and ſome would even be improved, by both. This we know to have been actually the caſe in the letters. And as the French tranſlator expreſsly declares himſelf to have been ignorant of the Scottiſh (or Engliſh) language, and to have therefore tranſlated the letters from the Latin; and as this ignorance muſt have extended to the additional ſupplement, equally with the letters themſelves, we have a deciſive evidence, that he tranſlated the letters and the ſupplement, equally, from a Latin copy; and that all the deformities of the Engliſh, which are reflected in the French, are reflected through the mirrour of the Latin.

One of the very deformities above, coincides with all this, and confirms it all. We have ſeen the Scotch "dittay" tranſlated "adjournement" and "ajournement," then "ſignifiées," then "proces," and finally "accuſation." Nor did the French tranſlator, as Mr. Goodall thinks (i. 113), ſee "at laſt" the true meaning of the word, *becauſe* it was coupled with "inditement," and ſo give us "accuſation" as an equivalent to it. He found it thus coupled "at laſt" in 114, and tranſlated it "accuſation" in 332. But he had previouſly found it uncoupled in 113, and yet had tranſlated it "accuſation" in 331. He had even found it coupled before in 97, but had actually rendered it "adjournement" in 323. And, what is ſtill more, he had even found the words "ze ar indytit" in 103, and had rendered them "[vous] etes adjourné" in 326. He plainly therefore derived not his information of the meaning from any accompanying explanations in the Engliſh copy. He had no accompanying

explanations

pletely. I ſhall therefore go back to ſome circumſtances in its hiſtory, which I have not dwelt upon ſufficiently before. And the demonſtrated fact of its originality, will lead us to ſome uſeful concluſions at the end of all.

When the ſecond ſet of letters was fabricated, for the view of the parliament in December 1567,

explanations at all, in the copy from which he tranſlated. "Dittay or inditement" in 114, and alſo in 97, were rendered by one word in his copy, and were therefore anſwered by one word in his verſion, both in 332 and in 323. "Indited" was alſo replied to by a word of the ſame family with "dit-"tay," and was therefore echoed back in "adjournée," as "dittay" was in "adjournement." The French tranſlator knew nothing, either of the variation or of the explication in the Engliſh copy. There was neither explication nor variation in his copy. And he drew his final intelligence from another ſource. He drew it all from a copy in Latin. In the Latin alone could be the word, that would anſwer all his various explications. The word "dittay," and the words "dittay or inditement," would very naturally be tranſlated "dictum" in the Latin. "Ze ar indytit" would as naturally, and more elegantly, be tranſlated, "vobis "dies dicitur." And all would be tranſlated into "ad-"journement" and "adjourné," in French. Nor is this merely an airy ſurmiſe. We ſee it reduced to act. In the firſt letter, the words "he was chargeit to ane day of law," which in the Latin are "ut *cauſam diceret* accerſitum," are in French "il eſtoit *adjourné*" (Sect. iv). This correſponds pretty cloſely with "adjourné" for "indited" and with "adjournement" for "dittay." But, in the ſecond letter, "ane day of law" is "dies *dictus*" in Latin, and "jour "aſſigné" in French (Sect. iv). This is equivalent to "fig-"nifiées" for "dittay" above. And "dictum" became ultimately "proces" and "accuſation," from the light gradually breaking out of the context.

they

they were the ſame, as I have ſhewn before, with the ten letters of the journal, and with the letters of December the 7th, 1568. But my reader will be amazed to ſee me add at preſent, that they were alſo the ſame *with the famous eight themſelves*. Yet ſo it is in fact. They were ſubſtantially, they were verbally, the ſame. I was long before I could perceive it. But the evidence at laſt proved too ſtrong to be reſiſted. And what has convinced me, I muſt naturally preſume, will equally convince my reader.

The account of the ten letters, is thus given us by the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter. "This daye," ſays their journal on the 8th of December, "the "Erle of Murray, according to the appointment "yeſterday," though no mention is made of the appointment in the journal of the day preceding, "came to the Quene's Majeſtie's commiſſioners, "ſaying, that as they had yeſternight produced "and ſhewed ſundry writings, tending to prove "the hatred which the Quene of Scotts bare "toward her huſband to the tyme of his murder; "wherin alſo, they ſaid, might appear ſpeciall "arguments of her inordinate love towards the "Erle Bothwell: ſo," &c.* This is the deſcription of the ten. Let us now turn to the account of that part of the eight, which was produced this day. "So," ſays Murray in the journal concerning himſelf and his aſſociates, "for the "further ſatisfaction both of the Queen's Ma"jeſtie and theyr lordſhips, they were ready to

* Appendix, No. viii.

"produce

" produce and ſhew a great number of other let-
" ters wrytten by the ſaid Quene; wherin, as
" they ſaid, might appear very evidently her inor-
" dinate love towards the ſaid Erle Bothwell, with
" ſundry other arguments of her guiltynes of the
" murder of her huſband." Theſe two pictures are ſo very like to each other, that, in *this* view of them, we hardly know which is our own. But we ſoon ſee it. " And ſo therupon," adds the journal, " they produced ſeven ſeveral wrytings in French, " in the lyke Romain hand as others her letters, " which were ſhewed yeſternight, and avowed " by them to be wrytten by the ſaid Quene; " which ſeven wrytings, being copied, were read " in French, and a due collation made therof" &c. Here we ſee diſtinctly, which were the preſent letters, and which were not. But, in the deſcriptions before, we could hardly do it.

So ſimilar were they in their general nature! Let us now, therefore, attend to another circumſtance in them. The letters of the rebel journal conſiſt of ſome from Glaſgow before the murder, and ſome from Stirling after it. So did alſo the letters of the Scotch council and Scotch parliament. They were, ſays the book of the one and the act of the other, " divers hir previe lettres " writtin and ſubſcrivit with her awen hand," or " writtin halelie with hir awin hand," " and ſent " by hir to James Erll Boithwell, cheiffe execu-
" tor of the ſaid horrible murdor, as well BEFORE " the committing theirof, as THERAFTER."* And

* Appendix, No. i. and ii.

the

the preſent letters are alſo the ſame, four before the murder, and four after it.

We can come, however, to much cloſer proofs of ſameneſs. Theſe are not in their general nature. Theſe are not in their general dates. Theſe are in their particular dates. Theſe are in the very circumſtances of their narrations. Theſe are in the very terms of their language. I have previouſly noticed this with another view, when I did not obſerve the full extent of the notice. And I muſt beg leave to go over it again, in order to enlarge and point it properly for my preſent argument. "Jan. 27th," ſays the journal, "the Quene (conforme to HIR COMMISSION, "as ſhe WRYTTIS) broucht the King from Glaſ-"cow."* The paſſage alluded to is ſtill in one of the letters, and runs thus: "According to MY "COMMISSIOUN I bring the man with me, &c."† It was originally in one of the ten, as the journal witneſſes. It is now in one of the eight, as the fact ſhews. And the eight and the ten appear in this inſtance at leaſt, relating the ſame intentions in the ſame language. This would be ſufficient of itſelf, I believe, for the inference, which I mean to draw from the whole. I ſhall add others, however. "Jan. 23d," ſays the journal, "the Quene came to Glaſcow, and on "the rode met HIR *Thomas Crawford* from the "Erle of Lennux, and *Sir James Hamilton*, with "*the reſt*, MENTIONIT IN HIR LETTER."‡ All theſe circumſtances were as much in the firſt

* Appendix, No. x. † L. ii. S. ii. ‡ Appendix, No. x.

of

of the ten letters then, as they are in the firſt of the eight at preſent. But the journal goes on. "Jan. 24," it adds, "the Quene REMAYNIT "AT GLASCOW, lyck as ſhe did the 25th and the "26th, and hayd THE CONFERENCE WITH THE "KING whereof ſhe WRYTTIS."* In the ten the Queen continued at Glaſgow, juſt as long as ſhe does in the eight: ſhe being there, by the journal made for the ten, the 24th, 25th, and 26th of January: and ſhe being alſo there, by the ſecond of the eight, on Saturday, which was the 25th of January in that year;† being there, by the firſt, upon the day before and evening preceding, or Friday the 24th and Thurſday the 23d; and, by the ſecond again, intending to leave it upon Monday the 27th. But, as the journal proceeds, "in this tyme," the 24th—26th, ſhe "wrayt "hir BYLLE and uther letteris to Bothwell."‡ She therefore appears from the journal, to have written ſuch of her ten letters as were ſent from Glaſgow, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of January. And ſhe appears from the eight themſelves, to have written alſo ſuch of *them* as were equally ſent from Glaſgow, on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 24th—26th of that month. All this ſerves ſtrongly to prove the ſameneſs of the letters. But the journal adds to the force of all, by referring to the ſame word as her own appellation for the firſt of the ten, which is equally her own appellation for the firſt of the eight at preſent, BYLLE. And the Glaſgow letters appear plainly to have

* Appendix, No. x.

† Goodall, i. 120, and Appendix, No. x.

‡ Appendix, No. x.

been

been the ſame, in both theſe ſets of epiſtles. Nor are the Stirling letters different. If one half is the ſame, the other, we may be ſure, is the ſame alſo. But the journal equally ſhews it. "April "21ſt, viz. Mounday," it ſays, "the Quene raid "to Stirling, AS IT WES DEVYSIT, and from "thence wreyt THE LETTERIS CONCERNING "THE PURPOSE DEVYSIT OF HIR RAVISHING; "quhair Huntly CAM TO HIR, and BEGAN TO "REPENT HIM."* The Stirling part of the ten ſpoke equally, as the Stirling part of the eight ſpeaks now, of the journey to Stirling being previouſly agreed upon betwixt Mary and Bothwell, of the deſign for ſeizing her being ſettled betwixt them, of Huntly's coming to her there, and of his beginning to repent of the part which he had undertaken for the enterprize. And they are obviouſly, therefore, the ſame.

So fully do the eight and the ten, the letters of the Scotch council and parliament, the letters of the rebel journal, the letters of the 7th of December at Weſtminſter, and the preſent letters, all aſſimilate together. They are equally from Stirling and from Glaſgow. They are equally of the ſame general and particular dates, from both. They are of the ſame nature and ſubſtance. They relate the ſame facts. They ſpeak of the ſame agreements. And they even uſe the ſame words. Yet there was a difference between them. I have marked it before. I now proceed to account for it. It was totally foreign

* Appendix, No. x.

to all theſe proofs of ſameneſs. It no ways affects them. And it conſiſted in two letters more, which are not in the preſent ſet, but were in the former; and in ſome corrections, that were made in the letters of both.

The ten are ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed from the eight, by the letter from Linlithgow and the letter from Kirk-a-field. Of *that* the journal ſays: "Jan. 29th, ſhe [the Queen] remayned all day "in Linlythquow with the King, and WRAYTT "FROM THENCE TO BOTHWELL."* Here then is a letter, one of the ſeries of letters in the journal, which does not appear among the preſent. But there is alſo another. "Feb. 7th," ſays the journal, "ſhe ludged and lay all nycht "agane in the foreſaid chalmer [the chamber "under the King's], and FROM THENCE wrayt "THAT SAME NYCHT the LETTER CONCERNING "THE PURPOSE OF THE ABBOT OF HALYRUID-"HOUSE. 8. She confronted the Kyng and my "Lord of Halyruid-houſe, CONFORM TO HIR "LETTER WRYTTIN THE NYCHT BEFOIR."† Here is alſo another letter of the journal-ſeries, which is equally non-apparent among the preſent. Both unite, in diſcriminating the preſent ſeries from that of the journal. Both unite, in ſhewing the journal to have been conſtructed for the ten. But then it was equally conſtructed for the eight too. Theſe were eight of the very ten. And, theſe two being deducted from the ten, their number was directly reduced to eight.

* Append. x, No. x. † Ibid. No. x.

In

In conſequence of theſe two letters it is, that the ten, are characterized by the rebels themſelves to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, as "tending to prove the HATRED which the Quene "of Scots bare toward her huſband TO THE "TYME OF HIS MURDER, *wherin* alſo they ſaid "might appear ſpeciall arguments of her inor-"dinate love towards the Erle Bothwell." And by the ſubſtraction of theſe it is, that the eight are equally characterized by them at the ſame time, as ſhewing "very evidently her inordinate "love towards the ſaid Erle Bothwell, *with* ſundry "other arguments of her guiltyneſs of the mur-"der of her huſband." By the deduction of theſe two murderous letters from the reſt, the Queen's hatred for Darnly, which before ſtood prominent on the face of the whole, was taken away in the magnitude of it, and the adultery came ſtalking forward in its room.

The other note of difference between the two ſets of letters, was this. Some corrections had been made in the letters of the journal. And ſome variations had been produced by them, betwixt the journal, the letters, and the truth.

Thus, when the journal refers to one of the letters, and cites ſome of the very words of it, for Mary's conducting the King from Glaſgow to Kalendar, to Linlithgow, and to Kirk-a-field; the letter itſelf exhibits the words, but carries the King by a very different route. I have ſhewn this circumſtantially, before. Yet it is requiſite to bring the two paſſages together again, that the correction made in the letter ſince the

formation of the journal, may appear the more ſtriking in itſelf, and may be properly accounted for now.

JOURNAL.

" Jan. 27th, the Quene " (conforme to hir commiſ- " ſion, as ſhe wryttis) broucht " the King from Glaſcow " to the Kalendar towards " Edynbrough. Jan. 28th, " the Quene broucht the " King to Linlythquow——. " 29th. She remayned all " day in Linlythquow with " the King—. 30th. The " Quene broucht the King " to Edynbrough, and patt " him in his ludging quhair " he endit."

2d LETTER.

" Howbeit I have na far- " ther newis from zow, ac- " cording to my commiſ- " ſioun, I bring the man with " me to Craigmillar upon " Monounday, quhair he " will be all Wedniſday; and " I will gang to Edinburgh," &c.

Here the difference is very great. But it could not have been ſo, originally. The letter originally muſt have been, juſt as the journal quotes it. It muſt, equally with that, have conveyed the King from Glaſgow to the Kalendar on Monday January the 27th, have lodged him at Linlithgow on Tueſday and Wedneſday the 28th and 29th, and have carried him to Kirk-a-field on the 30th. But it now conducts him and her to Craigmillar on Monday, keeps them at Craigmillar all Tueſday and Wedneſday, and ſends her to Edinborough with him on Thurſday. This alteration is a very remarkable one. And it muſt ſtand for ever, an evident proof of the whole forgery.

But it is the more remarkable, as we ſee the rebels,

rebels, in the pretended depoſitions of Paris, recurring to the route of the journal again. "Com-
"me elle," ſays the ſilly forger of this ſilly confeſſion concerning the Queen, "retournoit de
"Glaſcow vers Liſleburg [Edinborough]*, avec
"le Roy a KALLANDER," &c. "Apres le Royne
"et le Roy," he adds afterwards, "eſtans a
"LYTHGOW," &c. And, as he ſubjoins, "le
"Roy—ils conduirent juſques a ſon logis a
"KIRK-A-FIELD."† All this marks the uncertainty and dubiouſneſs of the rebels, concerning the route that they ſhould take for the King and Queen, in very vivid colours. This uncertainty occaſioned the correction of the letters, and the departure from the journal. This dubiouſneſs again occaſioned the depoſitions, to revolt from the letters, and deſert to the journal. And we have thus three authentick documents, all equally furniſhed by the rebels, all equally ſtamped with the impreſs of their authority, and all in a ſtate of hoſtility againſt them; their grand and capital document of all, oppoſing and being oppoſed by their formal journal upon one ſide, and being contradicted by, and contradictory to, their ſolemn depoſitions on the other.

Nor can the variation of the letter from the depoſitions and the journal, be accounted for by any ſuppoſition, that the courſe by Craigmillar was *intended* by the Queen, but that the route

* Edinborough was called *Liſleburg* by the French, I ſuppoſe, from its peninſulated ſite on a large rock, and having a long neck of land at firſt, leading them up to it.

† Goodall, ii. 78, 79.

by Kalendar was *purſued* by her. Thomas Nelſon indeed, one of the two witneſſes whom the rebels produced at Weſtminſter, to facts that proved nothing at all concerning the perpetrators of the murder, ſays, he "remembris it was de-"wyſed in Glaſgow, that the King ſuld haif lyne "firſt at Craigmillar; bot, becaus he had na will "theirof, the purpois was altered, and conclu-"ſioun takin, that he ſuld ly beſyde the Kirk-of-"field."* The rebels thus exhibited a teſtimony with the letters and the journal, that directly confronted them to their face. The letters did not *originally* chooſe the route by Craigmillar, and *afterwards* prefer the courſe by Kalendar. No! They originally took the road by Kalendar. They thus harmonized with the journal. And the reference of the journal to them, proves irrefragably that they did. But the route for Craigmillar was afterwards ſubſtituted, in the place of this. It was a new line of motion, that was poſteriourly given to the letters. It was haſtily taken up, and haſtily abandoned again, by the rebels. It was adopted in preference to the line, already in the letters and journal. It was adopted in the letters, but forgotten to be adopted in the journal too. And it was afterwards abandoned in the depoſitions again, for the original and primary line ſtill ſubſiſting in the journal.

This extraordinary inſtance of *oſcillation* in the conduct of the rebels, is a full atteſtation of their roguery. Nor is it difficult to aſſign the reaſons for their conduct. They were theſe: The real

* Goodall, ii. 244.

route

route purſued by the King and Queen I *believe*, but I cannot *prove*, to have been by Craigmillar to Kirk-a-field. This therefore ſhould naturally have been followed by the letters. But a new ſuggeſtion of forgery prevented it. A reſolution was taken, to write another letter for her from *Linlithgow* to Bothwell, in order to mark her concern deciſively in the coming murder. This therefore compelled the forger to leave the line of truth and Craigmillar, and to move by the round of falſehood and Kalendar. And accordingly, as the journal ſtill takes this round, and as the journal proves the letters to have equally taken it once; ſo the journal goes on to give us an additional letter from Linlithgow. Such, I doubt not, was the reaſon for ſelecting the firſt route. In ſo acting, the rebels ſhewed all that bold confidence in the credulity of the world, which characterizes ſo many of their actions. But afterwards this reaſon was withdrawn, and then this temerity was recalled. When the reſolution was taken to cut off the murderous evidence from the reſt, the letter from Linlithgow was firſt ſuppreſſed. It was accordingly not ſhewn, either at York or at Weſtminſter. The letters therefore, which had been violently bent by the force of falſehood into the circuitous courſe by Linlithgow, now returned, as it were by the natural elaſticity of truth, into the ſtraight line of Craigmillar. And the letters were actually exhibited in this new ſtate at York. But, when the confeſſion of Paris came to be drawn up afterwards, a counter reſolution was taken, for ad-

ding again what had been cut off before, and even for enlarging the murderous evidence. The rebels did thus go on,

Downwards to climb, and backwards to advance!

The depoſitions, accordingly, bring forward a monſtrous addition of murderous evidence. And they particularly dwell upon the previouſly rejected letter from Linlithgow. So clearly have we found a reaſon, that runs like a thread through all the rebel curvatures of conduct, and becomes a kind of central pin to all their circumvolutions!

But we find the ſame correcting hand equally at work upon another of the letters. The ſeventh calls the Earl of Huntly "brother-in-law THAT "WAS" to Bothwell, when he was as much his brother-in-law as ever. This is ſuch a miſtake, as no forger of the letters, writing them in a regular conſecution, could poſſibly make. The two letters immediately before, which pretend to be written equally with the 7th and 8th on Monday and Tueſday, the 21ſt and 22d of April, calling Huntly expreſsly "the brother" and "the brother-in-law" of Bothwell; the 7th could only have fallen into the abſurdity of calling him "the brother-in-law that was," from either being written or being corrected at a ſubſequent period. But it now appears not to have been *written* poſteriourly to the reſt. It was therefore *corrected*. And as it ſhews in general, what alterations the rebels were continually making in the letters; ſo it ſhews in particular, one more of thoſe alterations, which conſtitute the difference betwixt the ten and the eight.

In

In an unaltered ſtate were the ten, at the meeting of the Scotch parliament. They were thus produced before it. But in an altered one they came to the conference at York. Then ſix of the ten were ſhewn to the commiſſioners. Three of theſe were from Glaſgow, two from Stirling, and one from Kirk-a-field. So far did the rebels proceed in their original purpoſe, of exhibiting the murderous letters with the reſt. They did ſo, in direct oppoſition to their preſent plan. They therefore did not produce *one* of the letters. And, for reaſons not known, they omitted to produce *ſome* of the *others*. The fourth from Glaſgow, the one from Linlithgow, and two from Stirling, they withheld. And it was not before the conference at Weſtminſter, that they reſolved upon the retention of the two from Linlithgow and Kirk-a-field together. They thus exhibited only five, on the 8th of December at Weſtminſter. But they had exhibited all the ten on the day before. "They had yeſternight," ſays the journal of the 8th, "produced and ſhewed SUN-"DRY WRYTINGS, tending to prove the hatred," &c. Theſe were written "in the lyke Romain "hand" with the letters of the 8th; are ſpoken of expreſsly, as "her letters which were ſhewed "yeſternight;" and were equally "avowed by "them to be wrytten by the ſaid Quene." And thus they exhibited a ſet of letters in SCOTCH on the 7th, re-exhibited ſome of them in FRENCH on the 8th, aſſerted the one ſet to be totally different from the other, aſſerted both to be Mary's handwriting, and pretended to put the commiſ-

ſioners upon proving it, by collating the one with the other memorially. "They produced "ſeven ſeveral wrytings wrytten in French, *in* "*the lyke Romain kand* as *others* her letters, which "were ſhewed yeſternight, and avowed by them "to be wrytten by the ſaid Quene." This is ſuch a capital ſtroke of aſſurance, as was worthy of Murray, worthy of Elizabeth, worthy of that complication of all villanies, the forgery of the letters againſt Mary. It can only be paralleled in all the braveries of human impudence, I believe, by the grand change in the language of the letters. And it forms a very important addition to what we have ſeen of that already.

Five only of the ten, however, were yet delivered. The letters from Linlithgow and Kirk-a-field, were reſolved to be finally ſuppreſſed. And, as to the other three, they were delivered a few days afterward with the journal. This being the ſcale, by which all the ten were originally graduated, it was very properly preſented with the delivered eight of them. But Murray ſtrangely forgot, when he determined to withhold the two others, that were equally graduated by it, and therefore equally mentioned in it, to ſtrike out the mention of what he had withheld. The journal was thus left, referring to a couple of Mary's letters that do not appear at all. He forgot alſo to alter the journal in the route by Kalendar and Linlithgow, and make it conformable to the letters. The letters therefore carry the King one way, while the journal conveys him another. And the journal and the letters thus

ſtand, bewraying the forgery of themſelves and of each other, in the plaineſt manner.

But that amazing miracle of impudence, in ſhewing the ſame letters one day in Scotch and the next in French, and pretending them to be different in themſelves, and both in Mary's handwriting, accounts very well by itſelf for the conduct of Murray, in not entruſting the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter with even *copies* of the *ten*, though he did with copies of the eight. *Thoſe* were profeſſedly adduced as proofs againſt Mary, equally with *theſe*. "As they had yeſternight "produced and ſhewed ſundry wrytings, tending "to *prove* the hatred," &c. ſays Murray; "ſo, "for the *further* ſatisfaction both of the Quene's "Majeſtie and theyr lordſhips, they were ready "to produce and ſhew a great number of other "letters," &c. Yet *theſe* alone ſtaid with the commiſſioners, even in copies. *Thoſe* were inſtantly withdrawn, both in copies and in originals. And what ſeems plainly to intimate, that the commiſſioners were privy to the whole ſyſtem of illuſion, in ſecretary Cecil at leaſt, who altered and interlined the journal, as he pleaſed, and muſt therefore be ſuppoſed to have directed the clerks too, as he thought proper; the journal of the day before takes no notice of thoſe letters being either produced or withdrawn. But, had they *not* been withdrawn, in what a happy ſtate would the epiſtolary evidence againſt Mary have then ſtood. There would have been *ten* letters in SCOTCH, pretending to be her handwriting. There would have been *eight* of them alſo in FRENCH, equally

pretending to be her writing too. They were both the ſame. Yet one aſſerted, ſhe had written them in SCOTCH. The other affirmed, ſhe had written them in FRENCH. Each in effect called the other an impoſtor. Each proved the other to be ſo. And both muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to each other's pretenſions.

But there are two important particulars ſtill behind, which I meant to reach by this novel concatenation of circumſtances. They relate to the three letters, that were preſented to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, poſteriourly to the others. And they concern the publication of all the letters in Scotch, afterwards.

Thoſe three appear, at preſent, to ſtand diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of the eight, in the nature of their original language. Seeming *not* a part of the ſeries exhibited to the Scotch council and parliament, *not* a part of the ſeries ſhewn to the commiſſioners at York, *not* a part of the ſeries preſented on the 8th of December at Weſtminſter; they look, as if they had been poſteriourly fabricated for the purpoſe. Framed therefore *after* the reſolution was finally taken for a French copy, they would naturally be compoſed in French. And all that has been ſaid, concerning the Scotch being the original and the French a tranſlation, would be totally inapplicable to them. They would be French in their original; and the Scotch, in which they have been publiſhed as well as in French, would be conſidered as a tranſlation from it. This indeed could not affect the force of the argument before, concerning the forgery. The variation in the

the language, that maſter-ſtroke of daring ingenuity, would ſtill demonſtrate the ſpuriouſneſs of the whole for ever. Yet the obſervable difference between theſe and the reſt of the French letters at Weſtminſter, muſt create a difficulty, that ought to be noticed by me in fairneſs, and ſhould be removed by me (if I can remove it) in judiciouſneſs. And I can do it. What I have already ſaid, does it effectually. When the rebels produced only ſix of their ten letters at York, they did it on the ſame principle, on which we have ſeen them ſo frequently acting before. They were ever fluttering and unſteady in their conduct, unſteady from the eternal inſtability of guilt, and fluttering from the lively impotence of fear. They were ſo at Weſtminſter, as well as at York. They kept back at Weſtminſter one of thoſe very letters, which they had antecedently preſented at York. They kept back the murderous letter from Kirk-a-field. This had been exhibited at York, even when its companion from Linlithgow had been withheld. Both were now withheld by them, at Weſtminſter. They alſo ſuppreſſed ſtill three others of the letters, which they had originally fabricated. They repented of the fabrication. They conſidered them as unſerviceable. They condemned them to ſilence and obſcurity in the coffer, for ever. They appeared with this reſolution at York. They even perſiſted in it on the 8th of December, at Weſtminſter. But at laſt, and indeed within a few days afterward, even this reſolution melted away, in the heat of an agitated conſcience. They trod back their ſteps at Weſtminſter. They trod back their ſteps at York.

They

They now conſidered the three letters as important. They now thought their importance a full compenſation for the contradictorineſs in which they would involve them, and for the detection to which they would expoſe them. They therefore took them out of the coffer again. They had them tranſlated, like the reſt, into French. And they added copies of them to the reſt. They added copies to the others in Cecil's poſſeſſion, without even *any previous exhibition of the originals to the commiſſioners*; and therefore without any mention of either the originals or the copies, in the journal of the commiſſion.

This finiſhes the curious and ſtriking picture of guilt in the rebels. This alſo completes the number of their letters in French. But how came all theſe *French* letters to be publiſhed in *Scotch* afterwards? How came they particularly to be publiſhed in that very Scotch, in which five of them had been preſented at York, and from which all of them had been tranſlated into French, for the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter? Theſe commiſſioners had them in *French*, not in Scotch. The York commiſſioners indeed had them in *Scotch*. But then they had no copies, as the others had. They had only extracts. And copies cannot be publiſhed from extracts. How then came Cecil by the Scotch copy, which I have formerly ſtated him to have publiſhed; and a copy exactly the ſame, as that which was exhibited at York? This is a conſiderable difficulty. And, as I wiſh to clear the controverſy from

from every difficulty, I have noticed in order to remove it.

When the rebels preſented their eight letters in French at Weſtminſter, they equally preſented what they called TRANSLATIONS with them. They produced in fact their Scotch originals with them. And they left theſe, equally with the pretended originals, in the poſſeſſion of Cecil and the commiſſioners. This ſeems extraordinary. But it was neceſſary in itſelf, and it is evident in fact. The publication of the Scotch, as well as the French, points very ſtrongly at ſuch an incident. The natural ignorance of French among the ſtateſmen of thoſe days, made it abſolutely requiſite. And the journal of the commiſſioners proves the reality. When Murray determined finally upon a French copy; he muſt have ſeen the neceſſity for an accompanying tranſlation. The French language was better underſtood in Scotland than in England, I believe, at this period. The intercourſe between the countries was much greater. The amity between them was very much greater. Yet the privy counſellors of Scotland would have thought it ſtrange, I believe, to have had French letters laid before them without a tranſlation. The privy counſellors of England certainly would. "We find," ſays a writer who had ranſacked many of the voluminous letters of Elizabeth's reign, "that the ſtateſmen of "that country," England, "in thoſe days," thoſe of which I am now ſpeaking, "were at a "loſs upon occaſions, when they had uſe for "writing papers under hand in the French lan-"guage."

"guage." And as he ſays afterwards with reſpect to one of theſe very commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, even to the principal of them, even to ſecretary Cecil himſelf, "whereas the manage-"ment of that buſineſs," the tranſlating theſe very letters into French, "hath been charged "upon ſecretary Cecil; it is not thereby meant, "that he did the drudgery part of the work him-"ſelf: for there are ſome reaſons to be collected "from papers yet extant, which will ſhew, that "he was not by himſelf altogether ſufficient for "it."* For this reaſon, Murray was obliged to put in a pretended tranſlation, with his pretended originals. He had one ready for his purpoſe in the real originals. This indeed would be Scotch. But then it was to be a tranſlation produced by Scotchmen. It would therefore be as proper for a tranſlation, when he had procured it to be copied by a common hand, as it had been for an original, when it was in a hand imitative of Mary's. And we actually ſee the commiſſioners provided with a tranſlation accordingly.

The five letters were preſented in French, on the 8th of December. In the journal of that day, not a hint is given of a tranſlation; any more than in the journal preceding, is a hint of the ten letters then produced in Scotch to the commiſſioners. The latter fact indeed appears, from the journal of the day afterward, to have happened on the preceding. Juſt ſo it is with the tranſlation. From the journal of the ſubſequent

* Digges's Ambaſſador, 1461. Goodall, i. 113, 114.

day,

day, we ſee the commiſſioners to have been furniſhed with a tranſlation the day before. "The "Queen's Majeſtie's commiſſioners," ſays the journal of December the 9th, "being occupied "in peruſing and reading certain lettres and ſon-"nets wrytten in French, BEING DULY TRANS-"LATED INTO ENGLISH, and other wrytings alſo," the two contracts, &c. "exhibited yeſterday to "them by the Erle of Murray and his collegues," &c.* This appears to have been in the morning, as "the commiſſioners proceded untill "dinner-tyme in the hearing and peruſing of the "foreſaid wrytings," then went to dinner, returned, and met Mary's commiſſioners at *one*.† In the morning after the exhibition of the letters and ſonnets, the commiſſioners appear peruſing them, and peruſing them in the tranſlation, as they teſtify themſelves. And this tranſlation appears alſo, from their own atteſtation, to have been equally with the letters, ſonnets, and other writings, "exhibited yeſterday to them by the "Erle of Murray and his collegues."

In this manner came the commiſſioners to be furniſhed with a pretended tranſlation of the French letters into Scotch, and with a real tranſlation of the French verſes into Scotch proſe. In this manner alſo, came Cecil to be in poſſeſſion of both. The three poſteriour letters would be preſented, like the former five and the ſonnets, with their Scotch verſions attending upon them. And thus were two ſucceſſive agents of Cecil's

* Appendix, No. viii. † Ibid. ibid.

enabled

enabled to publiſh the ſonnets and the letters, in Scotch and in French progreſſively.

The Scotch was publiſhed from the ſame office with the French. It therefore pretended to be, what Murray had preſented it for, a tranſlation only from the French. It alſo carried for the ſame reaſon, at the head of every letter, a few clauſes of that very French copy, which was yet unpubliſhed, and yet depoſited in the office of Cecil. And the eighth letter in French having periſhed by ſome accident, poſteriourly to the publication of the Scotch; Cecil's agent could not publiſh any more of it in French, than what had been thus preſerved by the Scotch copy. From Cecil's office came both. But ſo little ſtreſs did Cecil or Elizabeth lay upon the copies, either in French or in Scotch, which Murray had left with the commiſſioners; that Cecil ſeems to have ſent *thoſe very copies to the preſs*. He and ſhe muſt undoubtedly have valued neither, except only as implements of miſchief, to be ſet at work againſt Mary. By publiſhing them, they were ſetting them at work in a moſt formidable manner. They were doing in effect againſt Mary, what Murray's aſſociates had done in fact againſt Darnly before, and what ſome papiſts attempted to do afterwards againſt the ſon of both. They were digging a mine, in order to blow her and all her fortunes into the air at once. For ſuch a purpoſe, they could not ſcruple to ſend Murray's copies, and their originals, to the preſs at once. From them was the Scotch printed, I apprehend; Murray's copy of the Scotch equally pretending with

with the publiſhed Scotch, to be a tranſlation, and therefore, in all probability, carrying equally ſome clauſes of the French, at the head of each of its letters. From them alſo, I believe, was the French copy printed, with the loſs only of the eighth letter; which had periſhed in ſome fire, or other calamity at the preſs, and which, as it could be retrieved in a ſmall part only from the Scotch copy publiſhed before, was therefore not publiſhed at all. In conſequence of the whole, both the Scotch and the French copies, which were originally depoſited with Cecil, and with Cecil remained for months afterwards, *have diſappeared from among his papers*. Though a variety of writings, which were juſt as much detached and ſingle papers, which were much leſs than theſe in bulk, and were greatly leſs in value, are ſtill to be ſeen in his collection; yet theſe are gone. *Thoſe* were never publiſhed. *Thoſe* were never ſent to the preſs. But *theſe* were. One of theſe actually periſhed, antecedently to the printing. All periſhed at it. And the Scotch and the French have equally ſhared in the incidental deſtruction.*

* Goodall, ii. 73, 74, 75, 76, and 76—84, for papers which were equally copies with theſe.

THE

THE CONCLUSION TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

I HAVE thus gone over all the arguments in proof of the forgery, which I intended to lay before my reader in this volume. They are all FACTS. They are all very important facts, in the hiſtory of the letters, contracts, and ſonnets. They carry their own power of conviction with them. They ſpeak with energy to every mind. And they go with an irreſiſtible deciſiveneſs, I think, to the very heart and center of the cauſe.

I began with the conduct of Elizabeth and Murray, as acting in confederacy together. This was ſo well known in ſome of its parts, and ſtood forth to the eye ſo prominent in all, that it arreſted my attention firſt, and was therefore the beſt calculated to faſten firſt on my reader's. In the detail of this conduct, regularly as I have authenticated it, not merely by reference to the proving paſſages, but by an actual production of the paſſages themſelves; we have ſeen Murray

and Elizabeth behaving in a moſt diſhonourable manner. Elizabeth particularly appears in a light, that muſt ſhock her numerous admirers greatly. Yet *fiat juſtitia, ruat cœlum.* The low adulations of her own age, and the conſenting flatteries of ſucceeding times, have united to throw a blaze of glory around the head of this political ſaint; to which ſhe has as little claim, as many of the religious ſaints in the calendar of Rome to theirs. I admire her abilities. But I deſpiſe her principles. I admire her ſagacity of underſtanding, her comprehenſiveneſs of policy, and her vigour of reſolution. But I deteſt her habits of ſwearing, her habits of hypocriſy, her rancorous jealouſy, and her murderous malignity. Elizabeth indeed appears in her worſt light, while ſhe is ſeen in her tranſactions with Mary. On this worſt part of her hiſtory, have I been obliged to dwell. Nor ſhould I have done juſtice to an injured Queen, if I had not ſtated this part of the hiſtory, in its full glare of enormity, before the eye. The generality of mankind are undignified enough in their own ſpirit, to pay their reſpect to underſtanding at the expence of morality; to ennoble perſons, who are only great from their powers, their ſituations, and their ſucceſs; and to ſink from view the profligacy, with which thoſe powers were exerted, theſe ſituations were improved, and this ſucceſs was inſured. But let not ſuch, as aſpire to lead the opinions of the publick, be content to practiſe the vice of the vulgar. The intereſts of VIRTUE ſhould

ſhould be the object of every writer. And one ſingle grain of virtue, it ſhould be for ever conſidered, is worth more, in the eſtimate of reaſon and of God, than all the maſs of intellect that is diffuſed through the univerſe.

But having with the juſt ſeverity of truth, I truſt, laid open the behaviour of Elizabeth and Murray during the conferences in England; I then proceeded to ſhew the grounds and cauſes of all this, in the wretched ſtate of the forgeries themſelves. I have ſhewn the letters peculiarly, that main ſubſtance of all the forgeries, to have been changed and altered in a moſt wonderful manner. Throgmorton, who had received an account of the firſt letters from the very formers of them, could not poſſibly have recognized them again in the laſt. Like the ſhip of Athens, or the ſtockings of Sir John Cutler, they had ſcarcely one particle of their original materials left behind. Yet, like thoſe ſtockings and that ſhip, they pretended to be ſtill the ſame. And, what was infinitely more, they pretended to be the un-darned, the un-repaired ſame, from the very beginning.

The letters of Throgmorton's days I have ſhewn to have been merely ideal at the time, though they were realized afterwards. But a new ſet was ſoon formed upon a new principle. Even this was ſuperſeded afterwards. A new principle again took poſſeſſion of the mind. And a new ſet again appeared upon the ſtage. The murder was the object of the FIRST. The adultery had no ſhare in it. The adultery and the murder

became joint objects of the SECOND. The murder was ſtill principal, but the adultery ſhewed itſelf of nearly equal magnitude with it. And at laſt, in the THIRD, the adultery became principal, and the murder was only hinted at.

Both the ſecond and the third I have alſo ſhewn, to have undergone many alterations of another nature. They appeared SUBSCRIBED by Mary, on the 4th of December 1567; they appeared NOT ſubſcribed, on the 15th—29th of the ſame month. They were SUPERSCRIBED to Bothwell originally; yet they appeared NOT ſuperſcribed afterwards. They were all DATED, both in time and place, BEFORE and DURING their appearance at York, but NOT after it. They were alſo TEN in number with the parliament of Scotland, SIX at York, FIVE at Weſtminſter on the 8th of December, EIGHT afterwards, TEN on the 7th of December, and actually EIGHTEEN in the months of December and January 1589, and on the 22d of January 1571.*

Nor is this all. The evidence againſt Mary was merely the LETTERS, at firſt. For nearly fifteen months from the aſſerted ſeizure of Mary's caſket, it had diſcloſed nothing but letters againſt her. But, being properly put to the torture, it gave up twelve SONNETS and two CONTRACTS of marriage, to impeach her reputation. And then theſe pretended to have been equally found with the letters, at firſt.

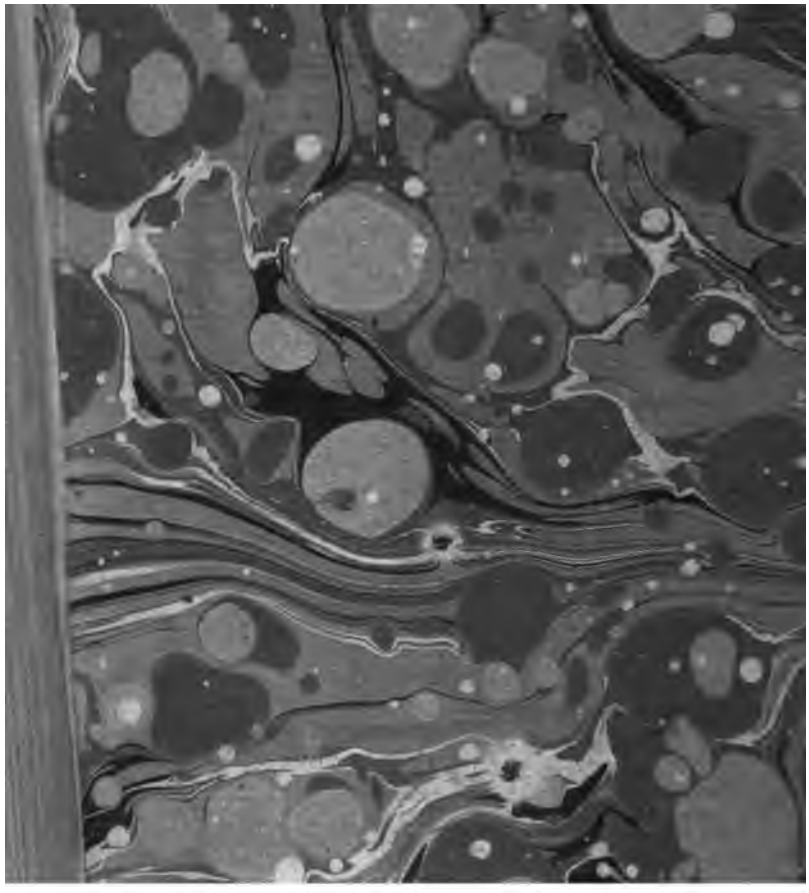
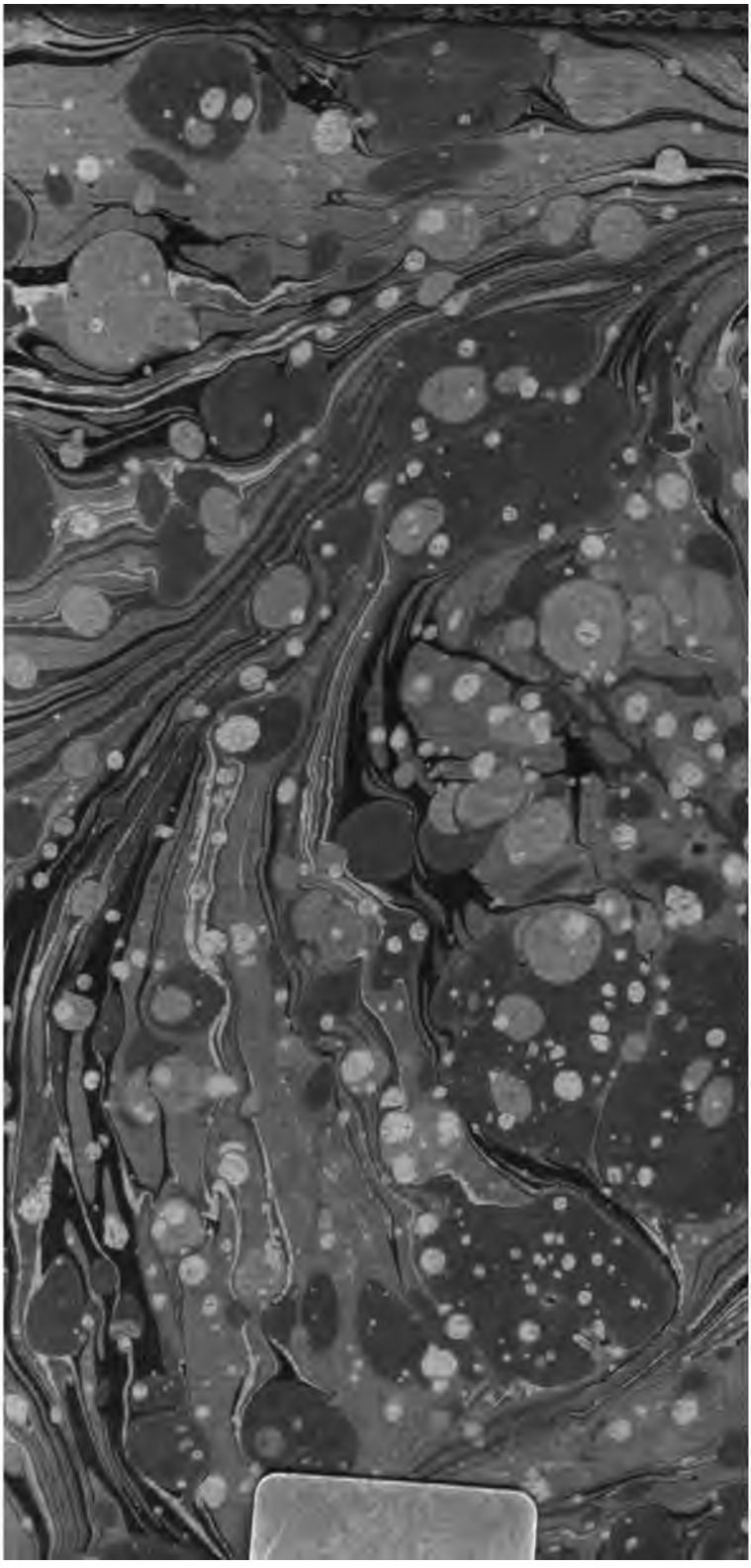
* Appendix, No. iv. Morton's Receipt.

But what is moſt aſtoniſhing, amid all theſe ſucceſſive ſcenes of aſtoniſhment, is the change of the LANGUAGE in the letters. They appeared as SCOTCH before the council and the parliament of Scotland, in December 1567. Yet Murray aſſerted them to be in FRENCH, by a meſſage to Elizabeth in June following. But they ſtill appeared in SCOTCH to the commiſſioners at York, in the enſuing month of October. And, after all, they re-appeared in FRENCH to the very ſame commiſſioners, only a few weeks afterward at Weſtminſter. What is even more ſurpriſing, they appeared ſome of them in French and ſome in Scotch, the publiſhed eight in French, the publiſhed eight alſo in Scotch, and both pretending equally to be Mary's writing.

All theſe variations ſufficiently vindicate the conduct of Elizabeth and of Murray, for the POLICY, though not for the PROBITY, of it; in the tricks and ſtratagems, in the frauds and evaſions, which we have ſeen this couple of political jugglers exhibiting before. They both knew of the forgery. They both knew of theſe ſtriking ſignatures of it. They both knew, particularly, of the changes and re-changes in the language of the letters. And their knowledge will combine with their conduct, I fear, to ſpeak in a bolder language againſt them both, than any which I have uſed.

But, whatever is the fate of theſe, the innocence of Mary muſt now be admitted by all, I think. The witneſſes againſt her have been tried,

tried, in the examination of the letters, ſonnets, and contracts. One ſingle variation in their teſtimony, muſt have been fatal to the whole. But I have found many.

Each of theſe, in my opinion, forms a ſtrong and lively ray of light, to diſcloſe the forgery to every eye. The laſt of them, I think, forms a ray exceedingly lively and ſtrong. And all together they unite into ſuch a powerful blaze, I apprehend, as lays open the whole forgery from end to end, as enables the moſt weak-eyed to ſee, and compels the moſt incredulous to believe.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.